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Teachers, principals, guidance specialists, community leaders, and university professors were brought together at a conference on guidance of disadvantaged youth. The conference was guided by the progress of the year-old Project Beacon which sought to introduce within the American public school system a permanent corps of psycho-educational specialists trained to meet the educational needs of disadvantaged children and their parents.

The conference report consisted of fourteen presentations concerned with the general problem of socially and culturally disadvantaged youth and with ways to meet their needs in elementary and secondary education. An introductory address on the impact of socially disadvantaged status on school learning pointed out that the most outstanding factor about disadvantaged children is that they are extremely realistic. Because of this fact, guidance and counseling services must reject "role playing" techniques or trying to provide emotional support. Instead the children should be approached about the realistic problems they confront in their natural environment. Another address from an elementary school educator stressed the need to substitute patient thinking and deep, directed research for the evangelistic, reform type of counseling in slum areas. The final message of the conference emphasized that an effective program for disadvantaged youth must be a total program, utilizing the facilities and experiences of both the school and the community.

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Proceedings of the Second Annual Invitational Conference on Urban Education.

April 24, 1963

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YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

GUIDANCE
for
SOCIALLY AND CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED
CHILDREN AND YOUTH

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL INVITATIONAL CONFERENCE ON URBAN EDUCATION

April 24, 1963

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PREFACE

Conferences have come to be such a common-place in American academic life that we, at the Graduate School of Education, have tried doubly hard not to permit our Annual Invitational Conference on Urban Education to be captured by routine formulas. The readers of these Proceedings, many of whom will not have attended the Conference itself, will be in a good position to determine whether or not we have succeeded in our efforts.

Last year's Conference, coming at the very initiation of Project Beacon, was concerned with an introductory topic: Northern School Desegregation. This year, when Project Beacon has already become a vigorous and promising infant, our Conference theme goes beyond mere desegregation to positive follow-through in the area of guidance for disadvantaged children and youth. We expect that our next year's Conference will mark a further step in the maturation of our concerns and in the specialization of our interests.

Our Annual Invitational Conference serves to bring together the Graduate School of Education faculty and a select group of psycho-educational practitioners, theoreticians, and reseachers. The more familiar we become with urban education and its manifold complexities and problems, the more obvious it becomes that we must be in constant touch with these three areas of expertise and that the best spokesmen from these areas must be in touch with one another. We are greatly pleased to find that our Annual Invitational Conference has become a stimulating meeting ground exactly along these lines.

On behalf of the Graduate School of Education and on behalf of the University I wish to thank Dr. Edmund W. Gordon, who planned this year's Conference, the National Urban League and the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, who co-sponsored it with us, and the 100 guidance counsellors, behavioral and social scientists and educational leaders whose attendance at the Conference and whose contributions to our thinking made this event so eminently worthwhile.

Joshua A. Fishman
Dean

THE UNIVERSITY'S RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE AMERICAN DREAM

Joshua A. Fishman, Dean
Graduate School of Education

It is a very great pleasure for me to welcome all of you to the Graduate School of Education and to our Second Invitational Conference on Urban Education.

At the very outset the contributions of two agencies and one individual must be acknowledged, for without them there would be no conference today. We are indebted to the National Urban League and to the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students for co-sponsoring this conference with us. We at the GSE are proud to share the honor of sponsorship with these two agencies whose concern for the socially and culturally disadvantaged and whose programs on their behalf are highly regarded, widely known and deservedly praised.

The major burden of planning and organizing this conference has fallen upon Dr. Edmund W. Gordon, Chairman of the GSE's Department of Educational Psychology and Guidance. It is most fitting that a serious conference on a serious theme should flow from the writings, studies and seminars of our faculty. I am proud indeed that this conference is not an artificial flower placed on public display by administrative decision but that it is a genuine expression of concerns that have received the attention of Dr. Gordon and several of his colleagues for many, many months.

Let me add that it is a very real pleasure to greet such a large gathering this afternoon. It is good to know that so many teachers, principals, guidance specialists, community leaders and university professors share our concerns for the guidance of disadvantaged children and youth. All of us experience moments of intense loneliness in this difficult area of endeavor, beset as we are by complex problems, limited means, and limitless heartbreak.

Therefore, this conference has a double goal: an intellectual and an emotional purpose. Intellectually, we are here to learn from each other and from some of the great leaders in this field. Beyond that, however, we have come together to reinforce each other's dedication and to stress our interrelatedness in the difficult but important tasks which we have assumed.

As I welcome you to this Second Annual Invitational Conference on Urban Education, I am very mindful of the fact that our meeting takes place a little over a century after a very great American proclaimed that this nation could not long endure "half slave and half free."

The problems that we shall discuss today are in no small measure related to the American Civil War, to its aftermath and to the political compromises which ultimately robbed it of its major social significance.

Now, almost exactly one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, we are more painfully aware than ever before of the "unfinished business" of the Civil War - and this awareness comes to us not only from Atlanta, Birmingham and Oxford (Miss.), but from Washington and Chicago and New York.

For the second time in our comparatively brief lifetimes, American intellectual leaders are asking themselves whether this nation can long endure half privileged and half underprivileged.

However, this time, as compared with thirty years ago, the question comes to us with a racial urgency and an ethnic poignancy which the great depression masked but which today's rush toward affluent automation sets in bold relief.

This is so because the existence of millions of socially and culturally disadvantaged Americans constitutes, at one and the same time: -- a crippling infection of the American body politic at a time when we are engaged in a struggle for survival on the international scene, where not only the Communist nations but also the young neutralist nations of the world react to it with justifiable horror and telling derision -- a crippling roadblock for the expansion of our economy, for the continued cultural significance of our great cities, and for the intellectual honesty and professional ethics of our schools and educators -- but, above and beyond all of the foregoing, the socially and culturally disadvantaged of today represent a crippling accusation which saps the moral integrity of American democracy (and, therefore, the very basis of American nationhood) because their condition makes a mockery of "the American dream."

There have been before our time -- as there are today -- other societies with a better claim than our own to "knowledge of life" in all of its bittersweet subtleties. If American society has distinguished itself in the minds and in the hearts of men throughout the world, it is because it has seemed to be dedicated not to "knowledge of life" but to "love of man," to the "pursuit of happiness."

The millions of socially and culturally disadvantaged rise up as living witnesses (which each of us acknowledges in our heart of hearts) that we have robbed them of their patrimony -- of their ability to engage in the pursuit of happiness.

We cannot solve this problem by declaring it to be a lesser evil than Communism...

or by converting our cities into black pits surrounded by white cordon-sanitaires...

or by sending Congressional "Care packages" to Harlem or to the Lower East Side...

or, and this strikes closest to home, by Universities devoted to the accumulation of socially irrelevant wisdom.

We can solve - not merely ameliorate, but solve - the problem which threatens the unifying theme of our national existence by enabling the urban poor and their children to find the strength that their numbers, their abilities and their quiet dignity imply.

I interpret "Guidance for Socially and Culturally Disadvantaged Children and Youth," the theme of this conference, as guidance toward strength - toward individual strength, toward group strength, toward national strength, for those who have been unjustly deprived of this strength.

Our Project Beacon represents just such an attempt. Last year, at our First Annual Invitational Conference on Urban Education, I was privileged to announce its birth.

This year, very much like a proud parent, I am privileged to announce that it has already taken several healthy steps toward maturity.

Its several graduate-degree programs seek to prepare a variety of psycho-educational specialists to enable the disadvantaged to shape their own future.

However, Project Beacon is probably quite unique in the annals of American higher education in this respect.

And, obviously, therefore, Project Beacon is not enough.

American universities are challenged today - as never before - to make a genuine contribution toward the realization of "the American dream."

Our government has made such a contribution through the Peace Corps - a venture that never ceases to inspire us because it is itself inspired by "love of man" and by direct, personal dedication to enabling others to engage in their own pursuit of happiness.

Our universities too must make a direct, systematic contribution toward the realization of the American dream, a contribution that will thrill the heart and excite the mind.

The university's pool of knowledge and thirst for knowledge must be directed toward the very same social problems which surround the university itself and which threaten to engulf the nation.

As a medical college is mobilized to fight the diseases of the body so the rest of the entire University must be mobilized to fight the diseases of the intellect, of the spirit, and of society.

The universities of America owe the country a ringing declaration of intent, an intellectual manifesto for our age. that the ivory tower is as outdated for the pursuit of truth as the Maginot Line was for the pursuit of security.

The universities of America owe the country the proclamation of Beacon Corps of scientists and scholars dedicated to the solution of human problems.

It is in this spirit, in the spirit of striving to render knowledge more socially useful and, therefore, more knowledgeable that I welcome you all to the Second Invitational Conference and pray that it will be a fruitful experience for all.

DEAN FISHMAN:

We have a very rich program this afternoon, and I will not rob our speakers of any more time than I already have. They all have been given a very meager allotment of time and I will now proceed to introduce them to you. Our first speaker is Dr. Frank Riessman. His topic, "The Significance of Socially Disadvantaged Status," is one that he is eminently qualified to discuss. His name, his book and his message have become nationally, if not internationally known within the last year or so. However, I happen to know that, as a social psychologist, Dr. Riessman has been consistently interested in lower class culture and in the "positives" that it represents for a goodly number of years, and it is because of that persistent interest on his part, as well as because of his very recent fame in connection with his book on "The Culturally Deprived Child," that I am so happy to present him to you as our first speaker.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED STATUS

DR. FRANK RIESSMAN

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH - COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Thank you very much. It is indeed a pleasure to be here. I think that Project Beacon has certainly taken a leading role in the United States in terms of demonstrating what needs to be done in preparing teachers, guidance workers and others to work with disadvantaged youth. I would like to thank Dean Fishman for his remarks concerning my long term interest in the lower class culture. It is true that I have had this interest - but it is also true that very few know about it.

I would like to describe what I think are the present trends in "the revolution in American education" - i.e., in connection with concern for deprived youngsters. I would also like to point to certain dangers that I think are occurring in connection with this concern. Finally, I'd like to point to just a few new directions that I have noted as I've gone around the country talking to various groups.

In the recent past, we have witnessed a rapidly growing interest in poverty and in the urban poor. Witness five major books on poverty in the last year, fourteen Great Cities Projects concerned with Higher Horizons - like programs and education, vast numbers of "Mobilization for Youth" community projects concerned with increasing opportunities for the urban poor and so on. The central domestic issues at the present time (discrimination, housing, education and mental health), increasingly revolve around the urban poor. What has aroused all this concern? There appear to be at least five major factors, which I am simply going to allude to, propelling the "poverty movement": (1) The powerful challenges being raised by both wings of the Negro movement, the Integrationists and the Black Muslims; (2) The stagnation in economic growth, the increasing unemployment, the prospect of automation, and the increasing failure of military expenditures to buoy up the economy; (3) The continued migration of the poor to the suburbs of segregated cities; (4) The Supreme Court decision regarding district reapportionment, shifting the balance of power to urban dwellers; (5) The considerable interest of the Kennedy administration in one of its main sources of power, namely the urban vote. I think it is very important to see this context for the tremendously growing interest in the urban poor in our society. It is perhaps in the field of education that the greatest upheaval is taking place regarding the urban poor.

After decades of ignoring the problems of the deprived, as reflected in middle class oriented "Dick and Jane" readers, decades in which teachers couldn't wait to leave slum areas, decades in which Parent Teachers Associations wanted no part of the untutored core; decades in which a school culture that had no place for the mental style of low income people was considered quite appropriate, there has now come to pass a marked shift towards interest in the poor in the education world. New readers are being prepared which take into account a wider range of urban problems and life styles. The inappropriateness of the usual I.Q. tests for these social and economic groups is now generally accepted. The Ford Foundation sponsored a great variety of efforts in the area of curriculum revision for the hitherto educationally deprived. Preschool therapeutic-curriculum-programs for the disadvantaged are now being developed. Special training for teachers in deprived areas are being instituted, and a variety of pre-service and in-service programs have been devised, notably here, at the Graduate School of Education at Yeshiva University, but also Hunter, Newark State College, and elsewhere. Educational aids are being employed to improve communication with alienated low income parents. A special homework program for low income youth is being tried out by Mobilization for Youth. Perhaps most important of all, there is a spreading ethos throughout the country to the effect that low income youngsters are indeed educable; that it is the school's responsibility to educate them, rather than blaming the parents for the supposed lack of motivation of these children. Educating the poor is now seen as important for the future of our country, and is being rewarded by the power structure of the school system, the government, the press and of society at large. I believe that this "power variable" is the single, most important factor producing the specific changes in teacher behavior and in academic performance that are beginning to take place. By the "power variable" I mean the fact that this is now becoming "a prescribed thing to do." I've visited a great number of Boards of Education throughout the United States and I am tremendously impressed with the fact that the power forces in many cities are strongly behind the efforts for improved education of the deprived.

It would be surprising indeed if, in the context of past discrimination, patronization and ignoring of the poor, a new positive trend were to arise entirely uncontaminated by the past negative history of the issue. Hence, there are a great variety of potential regressions as well as new dangers to be guarded against: (1) The danger of over-emphasizing vocational, non-academic education for children of low income backgrounds because of their physical style. The intellectually relevant aspects of the physical style are ignored and misunderstood in this approach. And the physical style is seen simply as preparatory for physical occupations; (2) The danger of aiming for no more than bringing disadvantaged youngsters up to grade level as though this was some lofty aim. Overlooked here is the positive style and creative potential of the low income child; (3) The danger of over-stressing the differences and the weaknesses in the background of the lower income child. If the differences were seen in the context of all of the strengths of lower class approach and style, then a full scale attack on the weaknesses, such as lack of school know-how, lack of test-taking ability and the like would be beneficial. But divorced from this framework, there is a strong likelihood that the low income youngster may develop a negative self-image because of the constant accent on his deficiencies; (4) The danger of over-emphasizing pre-school preparation for low income children on the assumption that we have to get to them as early as possible, carries with it the implication that not much more than remedial work can be done with these youngsters in the school proper. It is another way for the school to shirk its responsibility. Instead of passing the blame for low achievement on to the parents (as was once the fashion), the nursery and kindergarten have become the new dumping ground. Please don't misunderstand me. I'm not in any way arguing against concern for pre-school education. I'm more concerned with the new excuses that some have found; (5) The danger involved in proposals for new separate tracks, for the previously segregated and deprived Negro children. It is argued that they will be damaged by the demands of the integrated classroom and the place of the middle class white pupils. Unspoken, or less frequently mentioned, is the fear that the disadvantaged child will retard the middle class child. Again, this view is rooted in the one sided stress on the deficiencies of the low income child and the unwillingness of the school to adapt to styles and needs of non-middle class children; (6) The danger involved in stressing one way communication from the school to the parents of the disadvantaged without stimulating parents to encourage their children to have a more interested, less estranged orientation towards the school. Actually, I believe it is only through two way communication that the parent can genuinely influence the school. It is only changing the usual character of PTA mmetings that the alienation and the estrangement will be broken down; (7) The danger involved in searching for gimmicks, cure-all techniques for teaching low income youngsters, rather than focusing our teacher attitudes on the imparting of knowledge and on the cultures and styles of low income groups. New techniques can be very useful, of course, especially in aiming towards far-reaching intellectual growth in low income pupils. However, by themselves, techniques and gimmicks will probably have limited effectiveness and can easily serve to obscure serious issues. In this connection, it should be noted that the mechanical application of role playing, without awareness of why and how readily degenerates into just another gimmick whereas it might otherwise be a most useful approach.

Current practices indicate that role playing is either used in an unskilled out-of-tune manner or, more frequently, is totally ignored in teaching low income children and in preparatory teacher training; (8) The danger in relying upon team-teaching devices and teaching machines. I was very impressed, not long ago, by an article in Life in which a team-teaching approach was presented for the teaching of Russian History in High School. The thing that struck me about this is that they had planned special groups for slow children, fast children, etc. Now, the slow children were assigned the topic "Russian Cooking" as part of their projects. The faster children were given much more intellectually relevant tasks. In other words, although team-teaching was used, a watered-down program for the supposedly slow children was still followed. As far as teaching machines are concerned, I had earlier advocated investigations of teaching machines and of program learning in work with low income youngsters. I did this on the grounds that the full approach was physicalistic in character, that there were clear-cut structural reinforcements, that it was a game-like technique, etc. I must tell you that my more recent informal experience in different parts of the country, is that this "just ain't so." What happens when you try the techniques with these youngsters is that at first they say "Oh, this is an interesting game"; "it's going to be fun," "You get the answers right away." Later on they say "I've been taken; this is just another reader," and a reading style is not the best style in which to break through to the low income youngster. I report this to you as an impression independently gathered by a number of people around the country.

Another danger to avoid very clearly is the emphasis currently given to what I call "exposure." There is a widespread notion that if you offer courses in which the teachers go out and see the homes and the neighborhoods of disadvantaged children, that this simple"exposure" will necessarily result in more positive attitudes and beliefs on the part of teachers. I do not think that this is true. I think that it is quite possible for people to be exposed to the low income group and to come away with all of the biased perceptions that they initially had: The crowded housing, the difficult environment, the noise, etc. In order for teachers to see other things, you need much more time with the teacher, preparing him with respect to what to look for, how to look, how to relate to this child, etc. I would like to report that at Mobilization for Youth, at the present time, we are attempting very carefully to prepare our teachers, before sending them out into the community, in terms of how to understand the positives in the culture that they are going to look at. Finally, there is one last danger which I would like to mention and this is probably the most serious one of all at the moment. There is a danger that interest in the poor might become a fad and thus fade. I am quite troubled about this. I am tremendously impressed with the unbelievable momentum with which interest in the poor is now progressing. As Dean Fishman indicated before, I've written about low income culture for many years and have published dozens of articles on this topic. Hardly anyone was terribly interested in these articles, besides a very small group, many of whom are here on the platform today. However, in the past year or two, a tremendous interest has developed, and a great many people who were not previously interested in this problem at all have jumped on the band wagon. I don't mind their being on the band wagon; I am only concerned about their jumping off when some other issue becomes all the rage. This is a problem that we must all be alert to. I'm very much struck by the fact that role playing, which I thought was being used a good deal in the school situation, has not actually been used very much. The reason I originally thought it was being used so much, is that several people had written me about it and about how effective it was with lower income youngsters. Apparently this applied to a very small and selective group of people. I also was impressed with the PHD theses at Columbia Teachers College on role playing in the field of education. I thought these ideas had become absorbed. More recently, I have become convinced that they have not become absorbed. Very few individuals have developed any sophistication regarding the technique or its power with low income youngsters. I submit that this technique is an extremely useful one for developing verbalization, which is a key thing in the academic development of the lower income youngster. I do believe they can verbalize very well in a role playing situation. However, I also think there is a good deal of need for research in connection with role playing techniques. It's very hard to get evidence about the nature of a style, speech pattern, behavior pattern of low income youngsters outside of the usual test structures. I know that Martin Deutsch has developed many fascinating new tests for attempting to get at some of the style. The "clown technique," for example, is a fascinating technique in this direction. However, we need additional research tools for recording and characterizing the nature of the speech, the nature of the verbal interaction of the youngsters and other low income individuals. I think it is very important tc have participant observer research in low income cultures. I think there is a great need to look for very different kinds of approaches. There is also a great need to study the various BEACON-like training programs and the schools and neighborhoods to which they have been directed.

Let me close with an emphasis which really has been an underlying point for everything I've said from the beginning and that is: the great need for an understanding of the positive element in the culture of low income groups. This too can be debased into a slogan. I'm troubled about it. I'm troubled about the way it has been picked up in many situations. What is needed here is a very careful designation of what we mean by "positives" and what these positives are. Finally, it is incumbent upon us to consider how to use these positives. This is a tremendous question that needs a great deal more examination than has currently been given it. I have only begun to scratch the surface and much more work is needed. I am extremely pleased that the Graduate School of Education, through Project Beacon and several others are now beginning to study these matters more carefully than it was possible to do previously.

DEAN FISHMAN:

Our first speaker was a visitor to the field of guidance from social psychology. Our next speaker is a native in the field of guidance. Dr. Martin Hamburger, who will speak to us on "The Impact of Socially Disadvantaged Status on School Learning and School Adjustment," has been one of the leading figures in providing the kind of advanced theory and the kind of stable, fundamental research that the field of guidance has needed for a very long time and needs to this very day. However, he is also an academician who has long recognized his responsibilities toward social problems. It was in connection with a study that he was doing on the attitudes of American adolescents toward the entire American democratic tradition that I first met him. After having met him in that connection, it was absolutely no surprise to me to learn that he was also active in the field of the socially and culturally disadvantaged and among the first to be concerned with it. It is a very real pleasure to introduce him to you at this time.

DR. MARTIN HAMBURGER

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

"THE IMPACT OF SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED STATUS ON SCHOOL LEARNING AND ADJUSTMENT"

I will try to interpret my assignment rather freely. I will try to offer some critical evaluations of current research on the impact of disadvantaged status, to point up some of the gaps and problems of this research, to suggest several different ways of looking at what we now seemingly know and, finally, to propose several hypotheses about the guidance of disadvantaged children that have occurred to me in the process of this examination. If we are concerned with "impact" we are clearly talking about forces and dynamics. In reality we are talking about two sets of dynamics: On one hand we are talking about the child, the culture, and all the forces and variables involved there. On the other hand, we are talking about the variables involved in the school, in the teachers, in the equipment, and all the other factors that go into the functioning of a school. Unfortunately, most of the studies that have dealt with these relationships have been fairly mechanical. They have been mechanical primarily because there has been a tendency to generalize about the first set of forces and to generalize about the second set of forces. The sweeping generalizations typically refer to "the culturally deprived." However, what we have here is obviously a tremendous number of different types. The typology of the culturally deprived is far from being clear. We have so many variables to deal with and yet what we have done is to simplify what is inherently not a simple matter. We have done this since the day that Warner introduced the Yankee City series and began to give us diagrams that finally made Life magazine. The diagrams typically show that there are people who live "this way" and who are classified accordingly and that there are people living "that way" and who are classified differently. From Lloyd Warner through to Vance Packard we have developed a fairly mechanical picture of what "lower class" is. This, I am afraid, has robbed us of a good deal of the understanding that we could have about the problem of "impact" that we are talking about today. On the other hand, from the mechanical picture that we have, there now typically emerges "the villain" of the piece. The "middle class teacher" and the middle class textbook, and the middle class school and the middle class test have all been portrayed as being the reason why the impact of lower class status is a very, very unfriendly one. If we are to follow through the notion of forces, a better understanding of what dynamics really are is required. Dynamics mean the subtlety of forces, those that are apparent, those that are not; those that are rational, those that are irrational. By generalizing about these sets of forces I am afraid that we haven't gotten an accurate understanding of what this impact is, except in the following picture which I shall paint in very broad strokes. The picture seems to be somewhat like this: The difference between deprived youths and others is that those in the first group get low grades, they don't care about school, they drop out readily, they never develop reading skills to any extent, they are very restless. they are inattentive, they don't sit still, they can't wait until the day is over, they are trouble makers, they are difficult to deal with, they are dirty, etc. About the time you get done cataloguing these characteristics (and there are thousands and thousands of correlation matrixes which show differences between one class and the other), you have a picture which implies that there are only two alternatives left; one of them is that we go ahead and change the schools and the other is that we change the children. Well it is obvious that we can't do either very readily and this is the reason why in our time we have been so very, very concerned about what "impact" means.

If we take a look at the kind of lives lower class individuals lead, we have other sets of generalizations. They live in miserable housing, have poor nutrition, they are very heavily concentrated in certain ethnic groups, they have poor employment, low income, the homes are typically broken, the motiviation for learning is not very high in the home, etc. This all has been catalogued and documented. What we get as we begin to look at these generalizations is a picture which typically results in our feeling quite inadequate, quite defeated, quite futile. I want to point out (in connection with some of Dr. Riessman's comments about the increased interest in lower class problems) that much of this comes at a time when urban community resources for improving these conditions are worse than ever. This means that the sense of futility which we have, when combined with the sense of guilt that teachers, counselors and other personnel feel when they are confronted with these matters, is very great and quite immobilizing.

What we must look at, in addition to the very real facts of poverty and deprivation, is the tremendous variations in each of these groups. The fact is that the ranges are fantastic and the overlapping is much more significant than the differences between the means. I deplore the sentimental concept that there may indeed be something really hidden, something really valuable in the low income group; there must be "gold in them thar hills" and we must try to search out this gold. Actually the gold is not hidden gold. According to all the results we have, even with biased I.Q. tests, there is already available and obvious a considerable amount of talent even in the most underprivileged groups. What we need to know is: how did this happen? How did people who came from the worst circumstances manage to emerge with such high I.Q.'s? This means, very clearly, a greatly detailed and refined approach to research on not so much the variables or the factors or the symptoms, but rather on the process by which people learn or unlearn. What we do not have at this point is very much on process. We don't have very much on dynamics. We do not know very much about the dialectics of deprivation. Even in the most deprived we have, side by side, the underprivileged who are motivated primarily by primary impulses and also the underprivileged who are concerned about morality, who are prudish about sex, who are very concerned about mutual aid and cooperation and not at all intent on satisfying immediate needs. These people exist side by side. Among the underprivileged we have very poor verbal behavior and yet we also know that from folklore and from many other sources there is a very rich verbal behavior among some of them.

Well, we can't have it both ways without facing up to the fact that what we are missing when we merely look at correlations are the dynamics of how these things emerge. What explains the success of some lower class individuals, and I am not talking about rags to riches; we know very well from recent literature that the typical story is from rags to rags. I am more concerned about the fact that if we can get an understanding of why a youngster in one underprivileged home or in one set of disadvantaged circumstances doesn't display the usual deficiencies, we can perhaps begin to get clues, not only for education but for society. Right now I am engaged in a research which is studying the way in which young people who are called disadvantaged in New York City high schools make use of a job experience while they are juniors and seniors in high school. And in this research, what we are mostly concerned about is how these youngsters do indeed change and how they develop new attitudes which may help them move into society as equal partners and participants. One of the most interesting things I have found in minority group members (disadvantaged minority group members, mostly Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters) is the fact that they are all too realistic. This is one of the most alarming things I have found: The dream, the aspiration, the hope and the wish, the capacity to fantasize isn't there in the measure that it should be in young people. Please don't be misguided by the kinds of things that they sometimes tell guidance counselors. They are often pulling your leg when they tell you stories about what they want to be. Deep down, when we talk to them at length, they express very realistic, all too realistic aspirations. Another very important thing is that, considering the plight of the Negro and Puerto Rican in America, it is amazing how these youngsters express so little hostility toward the system, toward the society. Very little of what James Baldwin wrote in his marvelous articles several months ago and his book, "The Fire Next Time", is supported by the verbal content of these youngsters. And I dare say that we have a clue here. One of the clues is that these youngsters have succeeded in staying in school as long as they have precisely because they have become conformists. This leads me back to a consideration of the dynamics involved.

My concern here is with making sure that as we look at the culturally deprived, or the disadvantaged, or the minority group, that we focus, as guidance workers, on a very essential point. We are concerned with development. We are talking about providing the tools and equipment which will enable people to develop new characteristics. We want to enable them to make differentiations in their environment and then to perform integrating kinds of behavior which will move them ahead to suitable new experiences and to the development of new characteristics. We don't really want to "move them a notch up." By development we are talking about new modalities, new ways of dealing with life, and it is this newness of experience (mostly around the area of verbal and reading and cognitive development) which must be the chief key. This is the key to the power which people can possess when they develop and grow through appropriate guidance in education. It is for this reason that I am so concerned with the fact that what we are often doing is merely entering into the phenomenology of the under-privileged, when what we need to do is to assault that phenomenology. That is what we must consistently recognize. We are dealing here with a massive value system. We cannot change this system via role playing; we cannot do this with non-directive counseling; we cannot do it with testing; we cannot do it with most of the techniques we have developed thus far. We must consciously think in terms of positive intervention, with no holds barred and no apology for being middle class, because in our society middle class means essentially the development of precisely those new characteristics which do enable people to move up. Now I am not going to get involved in the problem of what is bad about the middle class and what is good; this is not the issue. Middle class means many of the good things in life, and if we want people to have the good things in life, we have got to educate them to be able to do the things middle class people can do. This means that we should not search too much for the gimmicks, the fads, tricks and game that we have heard about. What we have got to do is bear in mind the kind of model which I can most appropriately allude to in the marvelous title by Margaret Meade. I am talking, of course, about her book called "New Lives for Old," in which she offers some lessons to us from her experience in returning twenty five years after having left a group of islanders in the South Seas. In this time these people had moved from the stone age into the jeep age. Although now inevitable, many of us are still trapped by an uncomfortable feeling that "something is being done to people." We believe that by insisting on working as slowly as possible, and through their own cultural values, we are protecting and cherishing them. However, Margaret Meade points up the completeness with which people can want to change rather than merely submit to being changed. She shows that cultural contact can be just as active choice of the emigrants from the stone age as it is for representatives of highly industrialized countries. She says how often has our western world (here we may say, our middle class school) attempted to preserve native dress, old customs, different styles of architecture, native laws and customs, etc., only to disguise our unwillingness to admit a people into full participation in the culture which we claim to value so highly.

This to me is the key as I move into my closing hypothesis. My hypothesis is basically that no matter what the school does, no matter what the teacher does, no matter what the text-books are, unless young people recognize that they are really going to participate in the society and the culture, the most powerful cognitive experience is not the school, but rather the capacity of every five year old to know what is happening around him. How can a five year old Negro child miss the news from Little Rock or from Birmingham or from New York. What is really important to a five year old in our society is not what he does not know; it's what he does know. As we move children into the most beautiful new schools and into the finest curricula, the most powerful learning that they are exposed to is that which they are drinking in on every side. My hypothesis (and here I borrow a phrase from Robert Lynd who, in his book in 1939, "Knowledge for What", is concerned with applying social science to every day life) is very simply this: that all the vocational guidance, all the vocational testing, all the group work and enrichment cannot overcome what a society as a whole very quickly teaches its deprived and poor. Now this hypothesis is outrageous because it negates the efforts of many men and women of good will and I don't mean to do that. I state it in outrageous terms purposely. I state it, however, to give us perspective in our enterprise and to show that as we proceed in guidance, counseling, teaching and enrichment, what we most appropriately can do is to get the basic raw materials of process which most significantly should be fed right back into society. When we know better what the variables are that account for success as well as failure, this is what we must emphasize. I think that machines, books and equipment may well be secondary to removing whole groups of children to boarding schools for a period of a year. I think that the kind of counseling we must do must be consciously focused on what is happening in the world of these children. From the very elementary grade, rather than role playing we must talk directly to children about what it means to be poor and what it means to participate and not to participate, so that they do not get all mixed up and develop what can only be mass neurosis in terms of having to make some kind of accommodation.

Let me close by pointing out that Miller and Swanson, in their book on "Inner Conflict and Defense", have tried to deal with a better understanding of these problems. I am suggesting that if these young people encounter inner conflict (which is natural and inevitable) the most appropriate defenses at this point is for them to turn away from the school, which is in many ways (to their tender minds) a lie, and turn to the one natural environment which is the environment that they know so well and which is going to give them comfort, even if it doesn't hold out great promise of progress. If guidance implies a rational, conscious and cognitive effort on the part of the guidance worker, then what is so very important is that the transaction that we engage in with the children and the adolescents must be in every sense of the word consciously and cognitively directed to the real conditions of their lives. I am not so concerned with our providing them with emotional support, or with understanding their phenomenology, as with talking with them directly about what they confront.

DEAN FISHMAN:

Our two speakers have really dealt very honestly with us in terms of time, they have kept within the time allotments assigned to them and, as a result, we have sufficient left to hear from our two discussants. As it happens, our discussants could well have been our speakers and our speakers could have served as discussants. There is no first and no last with respect to their relative eminence in this field. Our first discussant, Dr. Martin Deutsch, needs no introduction to anyone here today, or indeed, to anyone anywhere who is interested in the topic of this conference. He is certainly someone who has provided us with stimulation, accomplishment and direction in research, in theory and in action -- for a good number of years, and has done so energetically, provocatively and consistently. He has not only emphasized the areas of deprivation that disadvantaged children bring with them to the classroom but he has also emphasized how these deprivations might be overcome. Together with all of you, I am very eager to hear his comments on the fine papers that have gone before.

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It is very pleasant to follow my two old friends, Drs. Riessman and Hamburger. We've participated on panels on a number of occasions, sometimes in reverse order. I will start with some comments on Dr. Hamburger's remarks concerning the phenomenology and the life-conditions of the children we are talking about. So much of the problem involves how one interprets to the child the conditions of his life. How do you make relevant for the child the conditions that affect his life and yet develop in him that sense of accomplishment and that sense of dignity that is so important if he is going to establish any meaningful individual goals. I agree with Dr. Hamburger that the middle class model, with all its negative attributes, is a model that we are kind of stuck with. It represents what is necessary in order to attain individual success or individual potential in our society. Dr. Hamburger referred to the fact that these children come from a life condition that contains much that builds up feelings of futility, feelings of frustration, feelings of lack of accomplishment. In a broad sense, we really cannot handle this life condition while dealing with it as behavioral scientists or as educators. This is something that we have to work with as intelligent and socially responsible citizens. As behavioral scientists and as educators we can make worthwhile studies as a result of which we can suggest the kinds of changes that will result in the type of cognitive enrichment in school settings that these children require in order to evolve in a direction that is consistent with their individual potential. However, the out-of-school pressures remain and must be tackled by others.

Dr. Hamburger referred to the enormous overlap that Dr. Otto Kleinberg mentions in his article in the April 1963 issue of the American Psychologist between Negro and white children and between middle and lower class children. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that the mean differences between these groups are also significant and that these significant differences become accentuated every time. As these children progress through school the differences between grows and the overlap shrinks. This is evidence, as far as I am concerned, that there is something in the school experience and something in the general conditions of life, these two interacting, that depress the functional levels of children coming from the kind of environments that we are referring to here. Dr. Hamburger mentioned that on the high school level there is a decrease in fantasy material. I would suspect from his hypothesis, that many of our drop outs are actually very talented youths, individuals who refuse to conform to the very real restrictions and limitations that exist within the usual educational environment. From some of the research data that I and colleagues of mine have been working on, we see that at the first grade level, children from lower class environments show a great deal of fantasy. Indeed, in many respects they reveal a superiority in handling and producing fantasy material. Then something happens, something that does not reinforce this kind of ideational process in one group of children. Something also happens to the middle class child where fantasy might or might not be inhibited but it does not go through the process of constriction.

It was also mentioned that many of the children that we are dealing with, children living under disadvantaged circumstances, somehow manage to function quite productively and at quite high levels. Nevertheless, this does not mean that they are functioning anywhere near what their potential level might be if social circumstances were different or if the nature of our educational intervention were such that a more direct stimulation of their cognitive capabilities were possible. It is extremely important that we identify, from a purely methodological point of view, the typology of disadvantage that seems to be related to poor performance or to good performance. In a recent study I concentrated on two simple variables: just the absence or the presence of the father in the home and the existence or the non-existence of any kind of preschool experience (controlling for social class and controlling for all the other deprivations associated with disadvantaged or advantaged circumstances). We found that in children that came from environments characterized by both of these variables, absence of the father and no pre-school experience (and the largest group in this category were lower class Negro children) there was a real decrement in the I.Q. levels between the first and the fifth grade. Now what is this due to or associated with? Some of the things that it is associated with are: the number of interpersonal interactions that actually take place, the opportunities for conversation, and the exposure to a variety of environmental circumstances. These are the kind of things that are associated with later intellectual performance. Children coming from the type of environments we are referring to here today are more likely to have a higher I.Q. if they have a father in the home, if there is a certain level of family activity, if there is a certain amount of exposure to a larger environment, if there is a certain conversational acquaintance with the various artifacts in the environment, and if there has been some kind of pre-school experience which has at least started them on "academic" cognitive processes at as early a stage as possible.

Even the big problem of bringing children up to grade level has to be seen in perspective. If we had all children functioning up to grade level we would have a vastly different kind of situation than we have now. We have so many children functioning two years or more behind grade level that this goal in itself is a very distant goal. I would like to see certain more immediate goals attained first.

The possibility for meaningful cognitive contributions in lower class children has been very greatly minimized and there is great potential for more productive intellectual participation on the part of these children than is stimulated through the school system and through the education operations as we see it today. There is a very important and relevant reason for emphasizing deficits in working with these children because it is through identification of deficits that one can see where remediation might be most important. However, I agree very strongly with Dr. Riessman that the identification of deficits must be accompanied with an identification of what the positive elements are as well. However, one has to be careful that this isn't romanticized. Very frequently, one is tempted to mention positive elements that may be disfunctional in terms of the academic necessity and the academic situation. There are positive factors, but the negative factors of slum life are overwhelming and I think one has to see where they operate and how they operate. If we see that the presence of a male model is extremely important in the growth of intelligence, then one has to say that perhaps we need half a million male elementary school teachers in our school systems throughout the country and particularly in slum areas. This is not a solution but it is possibly one important step in the right direction As to pre-school preparations, a topic that I am very much involved with, one has to look at the scientific evidence. If the scientific evidence indicates that a critical period exists in the early school or pre-school years and that more mileage can be obtained by intervention before this period, then one has to intervene at the proper time. However, this must not be misinterpreted as meaning that no further intervention and enrichment are needed after the first grade. This is a continuing necessity that we are placing on the educational system and the educational system will have to accomodate the needs of these children.

A gimmick is only a gimmick if it is isolated. But if you work out a methodology and a rationale for a certain approach to certain kinds of individuals then you have arrived at positive stimulation and left gimmicks behind. We have to talk about enrichment in terms of methodology. Enrichment, unlike gimmicks, has to be continuous, has to be cognitively linked, has to be rational, can't consist of isolated bits that exist here and there. This is part of the problem with some of the curriculum redevelopment that has been attempted recently. I agree very strongly with Dr. Riessman that one has to be very careful that the components in an organized system are not broken down into its gimmicks and then discarded because they are "only gimmicks."

I do think that the issue of fadism is a very important one, and here the foundations are going to have to play a particularly important role. Very often in the history of the stimulation of intellectual activities, foundations have come in at certain critical periods, and have stimulated great interest and research. Then the areas have run into the kind of problem that always exists, the problem of trying essentially to work out an overall typology of operations. As the research goes through the very difficult processes that are involved at this stage, there is often a tendency for the foundations to pull away and then to concentrate on other areas. The disadvantaged child and the disadvantaged group are going to be with American society for a long time. In a sense they are one of our most important problems. If large segments of our population continue to live under the current disadvantaged circumstances, we are establishing a social hell for millions upon millions of children. This will be particularly true as we go further towards automation and as the demands for higher types of technical training become increasingly great. The unemployment rate goes up because people are unemployable at certain levels, and at other levels there are not enough people with the prerequisite types of skills. Therefore, this is something that we must see in terms of a long-term time perspective. There are very definite things that the schools can do; there are very definite things that educators can do. I think that our efforts can be tangibly affected to the development of children; however, our effectiveness will be limited by the social necessities and social realities that change more slowly than the kind of a canalized intervention that we have been talking about here.

DEAN FISHMAN:

Dr. Deutsch has mentioned that he has previously appeared on panels with several of today's speakers. I must tell Dr. Deutsch that in the future he owes Dr. Schwebel five minutes. I am sure that Dr. Schwebel will collect on that debt some time.

Just as our speakers were one from social psychology and one from guidance so our discussants also represent these two fields. Dr. Deutsch officially represents social psychology and Dr. Schwebel the field of guidance. However, Dr. Schwebel is a very excellent example of the fruitful combination within one nervous system of rigorous training in psychology, guidance and education, together with a very rich concern for social problems. We are indeed fortunate to have the benefit of his comments at this time.

DR. MILTON SCHWEBEL

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I feel like the last runner on a relay team who has to break the world record for speed in order for the team to come in at all. While we are all runners on the same team, I might say that our styles are different and our points of view are somewhat different. Nevertheless, the fact remains that precisely because our objectives are the same, a frank expression of the differences amongst us is so important.

Dr. Riessman raised the question as to whether the present interest in the urban poor might lag in the future. I think not, and for this reason: We are not confronted with a new problem; it is somewhat different from what it was in the past but, in a sense, we are faced with a problem that man has been faced with for centuries. I think that this historical perspective is not impractical. I think it is important to realize that during the last century it was people like us, some of us coming from the poor urban class and others from poor rural backgrounds, who were striving for the improvement of education in America - and not only in America, but in other countries as well. What is going on in America today, with our special concern for the impoverished who happen to Negro or Puerto Rican is paralleled by similar interests in Britain, France, Italy and in many other countries of the world such as Ghana and others. But these things are happening, as I think Dr. Riessman himself implied, because of social circumstances at this time and because of charitable sentiments of the groups "on top." It is happening because large numbers of us wish it, will it and struggle for it. I think it is relevant to quote a statement of the King of Prussia written in 1854. He said: "The primary schools have only to work to the end that the common people may grasp and appreciate the Christian faith, may be intelligent in regard to all matters within a narrow sphere to which God has called them, may learn to read and write, reckon and sing, may love their rulers and the fatherland, be contented with their social status and live peacefully and happily in their life. I do not think the principles enunciated will raise the common people out of the sphere designated for them by God and society." The fact is that every time man has decided there is a need that he be raised above a lower "sphere," somehow or other man has achieved this. Whereas at various times it was believed that only 1% or 2% or 3% of the population had the capacity for an academic education or for college attendance, somehow or other we have arrived at a period when 40% are seen to have this capacity in our country.

Of course this didn't happen just as a result of wishing it, though this too is highly important. It happened because the attitude was favorable for it on the part of many persons involved in the educational venture. I think we can say that where the culturally disadvantaged working class youngster and his family have been anti-educational, he has not really been anti-intellectual but anti-dilettantism. By this I mean that he has been bored by the kind of work that passes for education.

So many courses and school experiences are lacking in vitality and life and not related to life. Of course this boring; however, those of us who feel that this is a necessary step that we must take in order to achieve some goal manage to tolerate it. But if we wish to change the negative attitudes on the part of such children, we need to correct the kind of thing that I reported to the Graduate School of Education Project Beacon faculty seminar a few weeks ago. I observed an instructor devoting a full period to the Bill of Rights. In teaching a group of youngsters, many of whom came from the very groups of which we are speaking here today, never once did the teacher refer to the Supreme Court decision; never once did he refer to the kinds of threats to our civil liberties we have recently experienced; never once did he relate it to the current problems in which the Bill of Rights and the Constitution are so involved.

I don't think one needs to dwell overly long on the reaction of a child in a school where the feeling is that the goal is a rather limited one, nor the feeling of being in a school where the goal is much lower than that to which others may aspire. I think what needs to be said however, is that if we are really going to bring about the kinds of changes that we desire, it is going to have to be by breaking with old ideas and investigating new ones; by breaking with the notion that the capacities of individuals are distributed in such a fashion that only a certain percentage have the capacity for academic education or for college. I think too, we need to recognize the effect upon the physiology of an individual as a result of being a member of an underprivileged group. The educator can be spared a good deal of frustration by recognizing that many of the learning problems that children have, come about as a result of experiences that take place in the mother's womb. They come about as a result of experiences that are beyond the control of the parent and beyond the control of the child. The minor brain damages which we are coming to recognize as probably being significant in large numbers of children having reading problems, having problems in learning in other areas are created and caused by being a member of an impoverished group and, therefore, suffering certain circumstances during the period of pregnancy that create damage and ultimately call for educational encounters that are not ordinarily provided for in the school.

Dr. Riessman speaks about "learning style," about the investigation of the kinds of learning styles that are characteristic of the underprivileged child. I wonder whether there are basically different ways in which these children learn or whether, quite simply, they are merely reflecting their earlier disadvantages. There are different styles of learning and there are increasing investigations on these different styles of learning; but I wonder if we can characterize the physical emphasis of the disadvantaged child or his lack of formal verbal ability in contrast to others, as essentially a difference in learning style. No gimmicks, no slogans, no mechanical changes, no investment of funds will, by themselves, bring about the change we seek unless the climate in the school and in the community is such as to make the aspiration for school success something meaningful, something that the underprivileged child can really feel and accept. Given that climate - and given a recognition on our part and in the general community that there have always been populations for whom the educational methods current at a given time and in a given place were inappropriate, ineffective and in need of replacement or enrichment - I believe we will make great progress.

TO MEET THE NEEDS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

DR. NATHAN STILLMAN, CHAIRMAN

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

I think it was the Indian philosopher Tagore who once said that man goes into a noisy crowd to drown the clamor of his own silence. This can be paraphrased, I think, to mean that very often teachers and others who are involved in work with children jump onto all kinds of bandwagons rather than develop any deep convictions about any issue themselves. It is much simpler to do that than to have to do a good deal of thinking. Thus far, in this conference, we have been subjected to a great many issues which require deep thought. I am sure that this afternoon's session will continue in the same vein. Our first speaker is Dr. Edmund Gordon who has already been introduced to you at the general session. He is chairman of the Department of Educational Psychology and Guidance here at the Graduate School of Education and the keystone of our Project Beacon efforts.

NEW CONCEPTS IN GUIDANCE SERVICES

DR. EDMUND W. GORDON

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Thank you Dr. Stillman. Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. Our attention has been called to the significance of socially disadvantaged status and its impact on school learning and school adjustment in two very stimulating papers by Drs. Reissman and Hamburger and our two discussants. From their discussions I want to call attention to two rather important observations around which I would like to organize my own thoughts. The first is that the children with whom we are here concerned, constitute groups which when compared to what is currently demanded of them as well as with what is possible in human achievement, must be regarded as academically and socially undeveloped populations.

Now I don't need to go on to point out the fact that under development, under achievement,disadvantaged academic status are not universal in this population, but we are talking more generally about characteristics which are so frequently encountered in this population that they require our special attention. The two speakers and the two discussants have amplified this idea so much that I don't need to follow my notes here and do so. They have projected this problem in the context that involves an increasingly large number of persons that are urban dwelling, as opposed to a predominantly rural dwelling population of some past years, and discussed it in the context of the increasing technological development in our society, the growing competition for excellence in academic and intellectual pursuits and, of equal importance, in the context of some of the emergent concepts of intellectual potential. Here, I will refer to concepts that have been rather well developed by J. McV. Hunt in his recent book on experience and intelligence in which he predicts a raising of the upper limits of intellectual development for all persons, raising the implications that in the present day, under the present circumstances, the children that we are talking about must be viewed as children, who in terms of what is demanded and in terms of what we are coming to recognize as possible in human achievement, are intellectually academically and, to some extent socially underdeveloped.

The second observation I want to refer to is that our educational systems , and the personnel who have concerned themselves with the problems of education, have developed few of the pedagogical and personal attitudes, understandings, competences, resources and skills that are necessary to stimulate, develop and enhance the intellectual potential which is existent in socially disadvantaged children and probably in all children. Much has been said of the teacher whose background, both personal and social, and professional training, have left him relatively unequipped to meet the problems of this population; much of what has been said for these teachers can be said for all school personnel. The kind of pedagogical concepts, the kind of pedagogical tools, the kind of pedagogical methods that may be necessary to meet the needs of these children who have been handicapped by social and economic differences are not at present a part of our common armamentarium. The challenge presented to all of us who are concerned with education is that we begin to develop new approaches, new compentencies and new concepts for meeting the needs of these children. Hunt has based the question in the context of a concern with the problem of the "match" and here he talks about the problem of the match between the specific character of the learner, the learning pattern of a given individual child and the specific management of the child's encounters with the environment that are required for the maximum development of this specific child. We have long been concerned in education with trying to identify the needs of children, the differences between children, and to modify educational procedure somewhat to meet their needs. Hunt suggests that far more drastic modifications can be made in the way in which we manage the individual environmental encounters so that the rate and the degree of intellectual development can be greatly increased. In our Project Beacon, considerable attention is given to the identification of learning strengths and specific learning disabilities. We are concerned with the specific nature of the learning deficit as well as the specific learning pattern or cognitive style of the child. We seek to identify those remedial methods that are required to offset the disabilities and those learning experiences most complementary to existing strengths. The concept suggested here is one that dates back to at least the turn of the century in the work of Binet, who concerned himself with the possibility that the several factors that go to make up intelligence are themselves capable of modification. He talked about the trainability of intelligence. A concept that has been largely ignored except by a few educators involved in the education of brain injured and mentally subnormal children. I am suggesting my second observation here that those of us who are responsible for the education of socially disadvantaged children need to give attention to those weaknesses in our own training, our own skills and our own conceptualizations which handicap us in dealing effectively with the problems of attitude, of intellectual styles, of motivational constructs, and of untapped potential in the population with which we are dealing. Now what is the relevance of these two observations to our concern here this afternoon, with meeting the guidance needs of elementary school children?

I think in the first place, a far more meaningful approach to guidance is required than that which is provided by the concepts that have guided us in the past. It may be that we need to look at some of our concepts with a view to reformulation, others with a view to re-emphasis and probably still others with a view to discarding them and having them replaced with more valid and appropriate theories. In the remaining time with you, I would like to deal with some of these concepts.

I think that our concern with the problems of underprivileged children, socially disadvantaged children, children who are culturally different, leads us to some ideas that may have real meaning not only for the disadvantaged child, but for all children. Among these ideas may be the need or requirement that we pay more than tangential respect to the systematic and continuous qualitative appraisal of children for whom we provide guidance services. Certainly most of our guidance practices have been concerned with the utilization of many approaches to the observation and classification of behavior from which we make estimates with respect to intellectual potential academic achievement and social adjustment. Evaluation and appraisal are not foreign concepts to us. However, I submit that we have probably been far less concerned with the qualitative aspects of appraisal and evaluation than the needs and characteristics of the population of which we concerned here today may require. In another paper I have developed the concept of topographical and topological studies of children. I used these terms to refer to the detailed qualitative analysis of the specific character of the learner and of the specific nature of the learner's experience. I see this kind of analysis as resulting only from qualitative as opposed to quantitative appraisal, descriptively as opposed to impressionistically reported, and leading not simply to diagnosis and classification but to prescription and treatment. Just as we study geographic areas to detemine the nature of the terrain, the kind of soil, the depth of ground water, the kinds of rock formations, etc., when we look at each child in a qualitative appraisal we need to study all factors that enable us to understand the specific character of the individual. In the topological study we are concerned with the way in which the child has developed, what has led up to it, what the events and circumstances have made for what is present, what are the conditions and the total life experience of this child that have made the current condition. So that the first concept I would suggest as possibly not new in guidance but probably reformulated and re-emphasized is this need to pay considerably more attention to appraisal but not just quantitative appraisal, not just diagnosis and classification, but qualitative appraisal.

The second idea has to do with the use of this qualitative appraisal data as a basis for detailed prescription of learning experiences. Again we follow the position set forth by Hunt. It is very likely that the way in which individuals move ahead intellectually, the way in which individuals learn is greatly influenced by the nature of the organism which is to have the learning experience, and by the nature of the encounters, the experience, the learning experience to which the child is exposed. Translated into educational terms, it simply means that the content, the sequence, and the pattern of learning experience must be so organized, so designed that they facilitate and to some extent determine what is developed. This concern with the design of learning experiences may appear to take us away from the traditional concerns of guidance. I would like to think of guidance as the field that is concerned with educational architecture, the design of learning experiences in the light of the kind of insights, the kind of knowledge, the kind of understanding that has been arrived at from our qualitative appraisal. As we move into a period when the knowledge required for effective and adequate preparation of teachers is increasing, at a time when the requirements of certification of teachers are being moved in the direction of greater concentration upon academic content, it may very well be that the functions of the guidance person will have to focus on the individualized design of learning experience and facilitation of same as an adjunct and parallel service to the teacher's functional preoccupation with the content of the learning experience.

A third general concept and one which I think is most crucial, is our concern with guidance for this population. The needs of socially disadvantaged children require that we remove the interview and counseling from their central and dominating position in guidance. If we look at the organization of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, if we look at some of the state certification requirements, if we look at some of our textbooks in guidance or if we look at much of our current practuce we see that all of them reflect an emphasis on the interview or the counseling relationship as essential, as probably the most important function of the guidance person. The one tool that we insist the guidance person have is competence in counseling. Testing, we may leave to the psychologists but under no circumstances may we neglect counseling. Nonetheless, guidance as a person to person process, through which information is provided, through which catharsis may be experienced, through which insight is achieved, or support is provided appears to be not enough if at all appropriate to our socially disadvantaged children. I suspect that under the influence of our exaggerated respect for the many forms of psycho-therapy, psychoanalysis and counseling we can come to view this person to person aspect of guidance, with the counseling relationship as central, as a tool of far greater significance, than it merits. I feel that guidance at the level of elementary education must be concerned with the motivation and facilitation of development and learning. I think a more productive approach might involve the identification and correction where possible of factors in both the physical and social environment which predispose to inadequate function and here we pick up one of the concluding remarks made in Dr. Hamburger's paper, it may be far more important in the development or redevelopment, in the education or rehabilitation of children who greatly handicapped by poverty, by prejudicial attitudes, directed toward them, opportunities, and by limited experiences, it may be far more important that we begin to make the significant changes in their conditions of life, modification and removal of the things that are standing in their way, rather than emphasizing a society where nothing could be done about poverty it may be advisable to counsel for adjustment to poverty. I consider it the least appropriate thing we can do to tell the person who is poor not to feel badly. A far more productive approach to rehabilitation would involve the development of meaningful learning and post school opportunities for upward mobility, and the involvement of these individuals, their families, their communities, and their schools in the process of changing those physical conditions of life, the social conditions of life, those conditions in family relationships, and in teacher-pupil relationship which make for maladjustment and under-productivity, rather than placing emphasis on a change in the attitude of the individual toward the competing forces. Particularly in view of the fact that very often the attitudes that we seek to change are attitudes of rejection, and rebellion against unwholesome forces. I think that this de-emphasis on counseling might very well lead guidance people into giving greater attention to providing the assistance the school and the school personnel may need, and the development of reciprocation, communication and cooperation between home, community, and school to end that maximal opportunities for development are achieved. Some attention in our conference has been directed toward the kinds of interpretations to parents, with respect to their children's school adjustment, that would make them somewhat more helpful to the school and to the child. Again, one of the speakers earlier has suggested that an opposite direction may also be effective. That is helping the school to use some of the insights, some of the contributions from home and community in facilitating the child's development and learning. A process of reciprocal communication, flowing between home, the community and the school is greatly needed and must draw much more heavily on that which home and community can contribute. This requires a more appropriate utilization of the content and material that is referable to the life and environment of the child.

Some of us have become concerned with the way in which our textbook materials reflect this life and environment. And, of even greater importance, the way in which the experiences and values of some of our children are not reflected in our teaching materials. The guidance worker can do much to help teachers become more aware of and more sensitive to the meaning of life experiences of their pupils. And certainly in those areas where we already have primary responsibility, as in the preparation and use of guidance materials, we can do a far better job of relating our materials to the realities of the worlds in which our children live.

Probably at no point have we given adequate attention to the contribution which can be made to pupil growth through authority figure identification with the struggles of disadvantaged children and their families. It has been suggested that the current civil rights crisis and the struggle for equal rights, particularly in the Negro community, may provide a lever of immense usefulness in reaching minority group children. The teacher or the guidance worker who can use material derived from this source creatively may rapidly increase interest, involvement and motivation. Those of us who are or can be identified as sympathetic to or involved in the support of this struggle may find new and more meaningful bases for pupil-teacher identification. Similarly, some of the messages that have been developed in this struggle have pertinence. The appeal of the Negro Nationalists groups is in no small measure due to the concepts of self respect, race value, race pride and race expectation that their leaders preach. In many instances, this message has found sympathetic reception among some of the most disorganized and hopeless elements in the Negro community. We don't know whether it can be used in other contexts or by non-Negro authority figures but it deserves attention. The possibility that children can be more greatly motivated by material that relates to the problems that are immediate to their experience and concern is certainly not a new concept, but it is one that we cannot ignore.

The last point I will make, again in the context of this reduced emphasis on the counseling relationship and a greater emphasis on other aspects of guidance behavior in influencing the development of the child, is that we are not ready to throw out counseling. I think it would be somewhat idealistic and probably impractical to anticipate that in the immediate future the many things that stand in the way of the development of all children in our society, and these children in particular, will suddenly be changed. These children need support, interpretation and opportunities for ventilation. One of our counseling functions is to support and strengthen the child's ability to cope with destructive forces as long as they are operative, but this does not mean an acceptance of the implication that it will remain that way or should remain that way and one has no responsibility for changing it. There used to be a chap who wrote in one of the tabloid newspapers in New York on mental health and one of the more appropriate suggestions he made had to do with the value of resistance in mental health. He was talking about the extent with which a person is defeated simply by the feeling that there is nothing he can do about adversity. What we are suggesting here is that a part of our function in guidance is to strengthen children, help them to deal more effectively with the destructive forces, but not to simply accept them, but to help them to understand how they can resist, how they can fight back, how they can more appropriately equip and acquit themselves for and in the major struggles for survival and advancement. Another aspect of our function in guidance is to identify and nurture those attitudes, aspirations, and motivations which may be used productively in the maximal achievement of appropriate goals in education and socialization. And here I am concerned with the possibility that through family counseling, through individual counseling, but even more so through guided group interaction we can do a great deal about creating consciousness of potential, consciousness of what can be done, and recognition of those levers that can be used to move ahead, those levers that can be used for salvaging unrecognized talents, unrecognized aspirations, and for developing fuller lives. Much of our efforts that identify interests, aptitudes, potentials in children stop at the point of identifying that which is present, presently observable, I am suggesting that if we de-emphasize our concern with counseling or adjustment, turn our focus to the broader areas of contact with the environment, to the broader areas of design in learning experiences, we may move into the area of the development of skills, the development of intelligence, the development of interest, the development of sepaaration, the development of competence. If we recognize much of what is wrapped up in what we call behavior, is the product of that which has occurred in the past; the interaction between that which is and that which has been. It is possible that the potential for development is greater than what we presently recognize and by positive intervention to manipulate and modify that which is (the present experience), we may come close to the creation and achievement of much that we know to be possible for modern man.

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DR. NATHAN STILLMAN
CHAIRMAN

Our next speaker is perhaps best known for his work with gifted children. His most recent study has been reported in the press throughout the country. Dr. Tannenbaum is the Associate Dean here at the Graduate School of Education and at present he is also temporarily "on loan" to Mobilization for Youth where he serves as director of education. He will speak to us on Curriculum Perspectives for Slum Schools.

CURRICULUM PERSPECTIVES FOR SLUM SCHOOLS

ABRAHAM J. TANNENBAUM
ASSOCIATE DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

I am convinced that every educational researcher has a touch of the Walter Mitty in him. Somewhere in his dreams there lurks the vision of producing one Pet Project, one creative splash, that would shower him with satisfaction -- perhaps even glory -- if only he had the time, the freedom and the wherewithal.

My own ambition along such lines is somewhat macabre. I hope some day to describe in fine detail the vast graveyard of educational ideas in this country. It would be sort of a critical compendium of promising practices gone sour, innovations that flashed to life briefly and brilliantly, but are now dead and buried. Some of these ideas are now lifeless because research evidence deflated them. Others are discredited because research evidence which proved them valuable was rebutted by popular biases that deemed them worthless. Others still, simply died of malnutrition because nobody cared enough to sustain them. The only unique feature of this graveyard is that some of its inhabitants have a tendency to rise from the dead and give the impression that they are being born rather than reborn.

One prominent burial plot accomodates a host of educational ideas for depressed areas. Here lie also the hopes we had once pinned on panaceas that subsequently fizzled. How seductive were some of the sure-fire, well-meaning tactics for eliminating school problems in high delinquency areas! How sensible these solutions seemed but a short while ago, and how their failure has lingered on to haunt us! It was so easy and fashionable to believe that the educational ills of slum children could be cured simply by providing them with modern school buildings, decent sized classes, a rich variety of instructional equipment, lavish pupil personnel services and experienced teachers and principals. There is as much naivete in these beliefs as there is in the quaint, popular faith recalled by Clifton Fadiman, to wit: "I have known amiable ladies quite confident that the universal institution of a hot lunch for school tots would solve most of our burning educational problems." If only the facts supported these assertions. Sadly, they do not. Learning conditions in many slum schools compare favorably with those in better neighborhoods; yet, learning and behavior problems remain critical among lower status children who attend them. And it is not enough consolation for us to contemplate how much more serious the problems would be if slum schools were all physically rundown and programmatically backward.

The foregoing doubts do not imply a plea for austere or second-rate school settings for pupils from lower status homes, or from any homes for that matter. I believe in rich surroundings and an abundance of services for all pupils. But I am also convinced that we do the disadvantaged target population a disservice by complaining simply about leaky ceilings and torn textbooks in their classes. It sounds like a good platform for social reformers, but the arguments are painfully shallow to educators. Some of the slum schools on the Lower East Side are modern buildings with a wide variety of up-to-date teaching materials. The average class size is actually lower than the average for the city schools, and they enjoy more guidance and remedial services than one finds in much richer neighborhood schools. Still, our records show severe retardation in all academic areas and a demoralizing problem of truancy and discipline even in these highly presentable settings.

Why, then,should the problem persist? The answer is that merely aping the schools from the favored side of the tracks is not enough of a solution. Sharing alike the wealth that purchases educational services is a laudable objective for egalitarians, but educators must think beyond that level. They must determine how the equal shares can best be spent appropriately and uniquely in every social setting in order to maximize the achievement of each pupil population. The broad school objectives may be the same for all groups but the personnel, material and techniques are different for each group.

Let us elaborate a bit further on the latter point as it applies to personnel. We all know that much has been said about teacher qualifications for slum schools, and much remains unsaid. It is true that staff turnover in these schools is a serious problem resulting in the sad fact that ill-prepared novices comprise the bulk of their teaching forces. The performance of veterans in these classrooms forces one to conclude also that the Malthusian theory of survival of the fittest does not necessarily apply to these teachers. Beginners who survive the initial impact of service in a difficult school are not always the most competent of the species. Yet here too we often tend to be trapped by shibboleths. When we plead for good teachers to be assigned to slum schools we simply betray a tendency to covet the staffs of better-neighborhood schools, assuming naively that a good teacher somewhere is bound to be a good teacher everywhere.

In truth, the breed of teachers successful in Harlem is probably different from that of Scarsdale. This impression was brought home rather forcefully for me when I learned of an attempt made by a New York City slum school to absorb skilled instructional manpower from silkier stocking schools. A number of district superintendents in "favored" neighborhoods were asked to nominate their best teachers for service with disadvantaged children. The nominees were then assembled and invited to become the nucleus of a staff in this single school in the hope of improving education there. Unfortunately, the project failed. The hand-picked teachers, who had performed so masterfully in middle-class schools, soon became demoralized and wanted out. Teaching had become converted from a joy to a terror. Their former success could not be transplanted to unfamiliar soil.

There are undoubtedly some who will explain this failure in terms of blemished attitudes and insufficient social awareness among our teachers. It is often charged that teachers in depressed areas are hostile toward their pupils and generally lack understanding of lower-class life. I am a bit weary of such accusations. Having been in teacher education for a long enough time, I can easily recall a large number of pre-and in-service workers whose sympathies with lower status children seemed thoroughly genuine. What is more, they could recite in great detail the research findings on social stratification in America, including lower-class life styles and values. Many seem passionately dedicated to their jobs and are expending enormous energies to succeed. Yet their efforts are in vain. To accuse them of negativism, ignorance or indifference is patently unfair. More nearly approaching the truth is the fact that they lack appropriate skills in reaching their pupils instructionally, and neither our social critics nor our teacher trainers have developed enough know-how to help them.

By now many of you must be wondering why I draw attention to such a bleak picture. Perhaps I have devoted too much time to abortive efforts and deadends. But there is a lesson to be learned here, and for want of a more up-to-date term, I would have to call it "humility". There has been entirely too much evangelism in the field and too little patient thinking and hard-nosed research. Every so often we hear of reformers excoriating the schools for their poor records in depressed areas, and confidently suggesting solutions. Their well-meaning efforts often attract an enthusiastic following of hopeful educators in desperate need of help. The letdown comes later, when the jeremiad is ended, the dust clears, and the results are in. The bald fact is that we have not solved the problem as yet, nor do we possess a fool-proof solution on the drawing board, and whoever thinks otherwise is either tampering with the truth or pipe-dreaming.

Having dispensed with the negativism, one can begin to offer some hopeful signs and possibilities, fully aware that they too may pass into oblivion for want of success. One encouraging impression I have of current concerns for educating lower status children is that such middle-class educational staples as the three R's, obedience, courtesy and the like are once again coming into their own even in curriculum planning for depressed area schools. This wasn't always so. About ten or twelve years ago many educators looked down their noses at these allegedly middle class values as gauche and inappropriate for this slice of the school population. The poor middle class teacher felt almost embarrassed to impose her time-honored school expectations upon her pupils for fear of propagating her bourgeois style of life among those whose life styles are quite different. The 1952 Yearbook of ASCD decried the school's accent on middle-class habits of gentility and diligence. It also borrowed heavily from Allison Davis' 1948 Inglis Lecture at Harvard in which he took schools to task for emphasizing verbal skills among a socio-economic group that doesn't put much stock in them.

Today things are different. There are still, to be sure, occasional rumblings about the narrow middle-class orientation of the school curriculum. But the major urban education projects around the country operate on the assumption that children are at school to learn the basic skills and behaviors necessary for functioning in a modern community. There is no effort to de-emphasize certain learnings on the basis of their being under-emphasized in a particular sub-culture. They may have an intrinsic worth all their own that justifies their presence in the curriculum. For example, the need to teach a wide-variety of skills in reading, writing, listening and speaking to all children seems to be fully recognized by our schools today, even though they also realize that some children start their education with less readiness than others because their social milieu lays little stress on these learnings.

Assuming, then, that the school is first and foremost a teaching institution -- not a social service or child policing center -- there are nevertheless, some important educational adjustments it can make in the hope of serving better the pupils in depressed areas. I would like to suggest some specifics:

1. The need for more useful insights into various sub-cultures: - Despite the vast amount of research on social class in America,some fundamental facts seem still to be distorted and other vital information seems still to be missing. For example, we have a tendency to refer to our lower status citizenry as if it were one huge, homogeneous blob. Differences among sub-groups in this population are largely ignored. Social class is confused with caste, and impoverished Negroes are lumped together with southern hill-billies, Puerto Rican in-migrants, and native white slum-dwellers, as if their life styles and educational problems were all of a kind. Economic deprivation is admittedly a common denominator for all these groups, but it certainly doesn't homogenize.them. Teachers who work with a mixed population sense inter-group differences in the classroom and the implications that may be drawn for educational strategies. Still, our knowledge in such matters is not detailed and systematized. If we expect our teachers to know their depressed area pupils, much finer differentiations must be made than are now available. This is certainly fertile research ground for

social scientists.

As part of such an intensive study, a careful analysis of cognitive strengths and styles among lower status populations is certainly useful. The age-old question of middle vs. lower class IQ scores leads nowhere, I feel. What we need is more insight into comparative profiles of problem solving strengths and weaknesses, and how they develop over the years. Is the growth of some of these abilities stunted if proper nurture is not afforded them by a certain early age? (Shades of the not-so-old Developmental Task theory!) Is there a catching-up effect in the sharpening of some skills even after early inter-group differences are noted? (A study reported by Semler and Iscoe in the February, 1963 issue of the Journal of Educational Psychology shows a closing of the gap between Negro and white children in several learning tasks as the two groups matured from age 5 to age 9. What kinds of tasks show this pattern? What kinds of tasks show a widening of differences over the years; and can early intructional intervention force a convergence?) Is there a transfer of training payoff possible if certain weak spots on the ability profile are subjected to intensive training?

2. The need for adaptation of curriculum content and materials: - Although I am strongly in favor of teaching all children to read well, wisely and often, I am aware that there are at least as many ways to get the job done as there are to skin the proverbial cat. The crucial question, therefore, is not whether to emphasize reading for depressed area children but how to teach it most effectively and what material can best be employed. The same problem of strategy applies to all curriculum areas.

With respect to content, I think there is much room for modification for the sake of meaningfulness without sacrificing basic objectives. Story books can contain plots and characters with whom lower status groups identify more easily. The Follett Basal Readers used widely in Detroit have taken a step in the right direction by including Negro characters, but the verbal content is still in the sterile "Bob sees Betty", "See Betty run" tradition. Classics, of course, are in a class by themselves, and their inclusion in the curriculum is therefore self-justifying. Mozart's music should not be regarded as too perfumed, aristocratic, and archaic to appeal to slum neighborhood children. It is a great cultural heritage for all to appreciate. However, plunging into it head-on may be fatal in depressed area schools. The road to Mecca may have to be a long one, with stopovers in the more familiar fields of the dance, folk-music and the like before a bridge could be built. But build we must.

In the social studies there is also ample room for modifying content while retaining intent. An analysis of civic life, for example, strikes different student populations in different ways. The lower status student needs exposure to knowledge about social service agencies, intergroup relations, the economics of community life, and a wealth of information about the impact of technology on employment opportunities, skills needed to "get ahead" in the big city, health, and the law. Not that these topics should be restricted to slum schools, nor should a study of city government be excluded from them. It is all a matter of emphasis and applicability, and the resourceful curriculum planner can do much to effect better adjustments in most content areas.

Two additional thoughts regarding materials suggest themselves at this point. The first grows out of our knowledge about the motoric orientation of lower status children; the second has to do with teachers' difficulties in "getting through" to these pupils during the lesson.

There are many instances in which physical manipulation of materials may help pupils absorb ideas a lot sooner and better than they would through verbal media. Representational aids to teaching that communicate through the sense of touch ought to be tested especially in slum schools where the physical expressiveness of children seems more commonplace and vivid. If the sense of touch or the feeling for role-playing provide methodological possibilities for better learning, by all means let's use the Montessori, Cuisinaire, Skinner machine, and puppetry materials and judge how well they work. There is much room for experimentation with manipulative materials today, thanks to the ingenuity of designers and manufacturers of educational equipment.

Sometimes, appropriate material can remove the communications barrier between teacher and pupil. Where both are operating on different wavelengths, a way out of the difficulty is to remove the burden of instruction from the teacher and place it on the materials. Well-designed programmed instruction aids are examples of such devices since they are designed to follow the pupil's mental convolutions that lead him from ignorance to mastery. There is no teacher to lead him astray with expressions that confuse or fail to register with him. Perhaps a closer look at the possibilities of teacher-as-facilitator rather than teacher-as-sole-dispenser of knowledge is worthwhile in slum schools where problems of communications are so enormous.

3. The need for better-focused teacher training: - With teaching problems in slum schools so severe, it is truly astonishing that so little attention has been paid to special preparation for service in these schools. I imagine one good reason may be that we lack enough knowledge about the subject to incorporate it in a series of courses that add up to a teacher-training program. Nevertheless, we have failed to capitalize on the little we can do.

The attempt to remedy this oversight with undergraduates at Hunter College is certainly worthy of encouragement, perhaps applause too. It is a first step in the right direction and does not pretend to go far enough. Fourth year students about to enter student teaching are invited to volunteer for field work in a slum school with the promise that they will fill staff positions there when (and if) they eventually earn their licenses. They are offered also more intensive supervision during the pre-service period in the hope that it will help orient them better to the special problems of the school. There is preliminary evidence that this self-elected group scores lower on the Authoritarian F Scale than the usual crop of student teachers. Such early findings raise the hope that diagnostic screening devices currently used in the program may someday reveal the kinds of personal qualities necessary for teacher success in slum classrooms.

The idea of grooming a teacher for a particular school and grade beginning in undergraduate days has a good deal of merit. It reduces the shock of exposure to a difficult situation when the teacher is already out on a limb and in the throes of full responsibility. Hopefully, this easing into the situation with lots of early support will help reduce teacher turnover. But special help should not terminate upon graduation or when the license is earned and the school assignment is made. Newly appointed teachers should continue to get intensive aid for at least the first year or two of service. Help with teaching techniques and materials from experienced master teachers on the scene would be most desirable if the novice's teaching assignment could be adjusted sufficiently to allow time for on-the-job training. It would also enable the teacher to bring to life her textbook knowledge of the slum family by visiting her pupils' homes and gaining firsthand knowledge of their living conditions and how they affect school performance and behavior. The possibilities of establishing closer home-school ties thereby are likewise most promising.

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4. The need for establishing appropriate teacher style and technique: - In one slum area project (Syracuse) a good deal of interest is being shown toward the teacher as ham, or the theatrical side of instruction. The experts there suspect that the person with a flair for the dramatic is most successful in depressed areas, and there is method to their madness. Pointing to the motoric orientation of slum children, they reason that pure verbal exchange does not get across nearly as well as a more stagey style. For some reason that is not too clear to me, they have named it the "empathic approach," and I wish them well in their novel efforts at heightening motivation in the classroom. Any headway with this demoralizing problem would be most welcome.

Another promising innovation in teacher technique can be found in the already well-known pre-school programs run by the Institute for Developmental Studies of the New York Medical College. The attractiveness of the programs stems from the fact that, unlike so many others, they operate from a theoretic base and are subject to evaluation. By re-defining pre-school education as truly preparatory to formal schooling, they endeavor to repair some of the experiential deficits that are likely to handicap slum children once they reach the first grade. Teachers use a wide variety of techniques and materials to help these children see the power and beauty of words and sentences; develop their understanding of abstract concepts; sharpen their attention and memory skills; and enlarge their vocabularies, interests, and reservoir of ideas. Skill in working with parents in order to gain their support and enlist their aid is also part of the program.

This head-on attack on the language deficiency problems is a courageous gesture. Not only does it tangle with a most difficult area of concern, but its expectations are also high. Too often, the teacher's recognition and

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acceptance of learning failure tend inadvertently to perpetuate the problem. Underachievement becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy as teacher expectations are low and pupils tend to live up to them. Sometimes I think teachers ought to discard what they know about the scholastic handicaps of lower status children and pitch their sights far above the level they would if their emotions were ruled by feelings of sympathy. It may sound awfully spartan, but Sam Shepherd of the Banneker School District in St. Louis insists it works.

Any attempt at motivating lower status children to new heights of accomplishment should include efforts at re-defining (or defining) their self-image. I am aware of Martin Deutsch's rather discouraging failure to find a direct relationship between the slum pupil's self-image and his school achievement. Still, I am not ready to throw in the towel.

Some of the systematic attempts at creating a self-image more positively identified with school work may prove to have a strong motivational effect on pupils. In a Syracuse school, for example, the camera is used ingeniously toward this end. Bulletin boards are filled with enlarged candid shots of children engaged in all sorts of productive activity. There are photographs of individuals reading, thinking and experimenting; small groups in the heat of discussion; and entire classes in rapt attention during a lesson. I know how difficult it is to measure the effects of this pictorial marriage of the slum child with a scholastic artifact, especially since matrimony experts would not ordinarily regard the couple as exactly "made for each other." But I do suspect that the technique helps cast a special light on the pupil's self-image, clarifying thereby the possibilities of education playing a meaningful role in his life.

5. The need to systematize various kinds of "corrective" services at school: - Along with many other critics of education, I believe that slum

children need more teaching and guidance help than they are getting. If Martin Deutsch's rough estimate is accurate, only about 50% of class time is spent on instruction in the average difficult school. The time loss is not nearly as severe in better neighborhood schools. Ironically, therefore, those who need the services most are getting them least.

The problem is not so much the absence of services but their full and proper utilization. For example, New York City has a veritable alphabet soup of specialists in reading, many of whom are assigned to slum schools. There are the R.I.T.'s (Reading Improvement Teachers), C.R.T.'s (Corrective Reading Teachers) , and R.R.T.'s (Remedial Reading Teachers) . Each works in a different setting, with different sized groups. The criteria for selecting clients for each service are different to some extent, though not always clearly so. But there is no defined difference in methodology, nor are there special educational qualifications for each type of specialist. As a result, there is always the danger of these helpers tripping over each other and duplicating rather than coordinating services.

Similar confusion is often a problem among other pupil personnel services as well. Guidance counselors, social workers, attendance teachers, and school psychologists are sometimes so involved in picking each other out of their hair that the clients to be served somehow slip through untouched by these professional hands. The result is often a mutual distrust and a jockeying for power among the services. I sometimes think that if an efficiency expert meshed the services into a well-oiled program, far more pupils might be reached at far lower cost in manpower.

One final wrap-up statement. The thoughts I have expressed are neither original nor earth-shaking. I am certainly not ready to say that any curriculum idea I have advanced would make a particle of difference in the slum child's educational growth. Unless we test each of them objectively we will never know. But if there is one plea I can make it is for objectivity and intellectual honesty. Just as the lower status child cannot be helped to perform well at school simply by our wanting to believe he can succeed, neither does a particular educational approach produce results simply because our faith dictates that it must. It is within our democratic life-blood to want to search for ways of equalizing educational services and social opportunities among our various sub-cultures. That search can be profitable only if we don't fall prey to smugness about our accomplishments in this direction. Some people "solve" the special problem of educating slum children by denying that it is special and buttressing their denials with mis-applied democratic slogans. Others propagandize get-rich quick solutions that are gimmicky and untested. To both types of false Messiahs I can only ask in undiluted Brooklynese: "Who are you kidding?"

DR. NATHAN STILLMAN, CHAIRMAN

Our discussant is Dr. Miriam Goldberg, of Teachers College, Columbia University. She has provided many of us with great stimulation before and I am sure she will do so again.

DR. MIRIAM GOLDBERG

I would like to re-stress something that I heard coming out of two of the papers today, something that bears restressing, and this is the notion of facing reality. I think that Dr. Tannenbaum's paper made this plea very strongly. We cannot simply wish the problem away nor can we any longer assume that its solution lies in somehow modifying the external. Its a little bit like the problem of housing. We thought that if we cleared the slums and put up some nice clean projects with some grass around them, then we would somehow reduce the incidents of the problems which were found in the slums. This doesn't happen because the people who move from the slums to the new projects are still the same people. We need to look far more deeply into the problems which confront the people we are dealing with and the children we are dealing with as learners in our schools. We need to say loudly and frankly that we are dealing here with a population which is different and therefore a population that needs a different approach and different treatment. But until we accept the fact that within group variability which exists in any population is not enough to explain huge differences between groups, until we can accept this, I don't think we will get to the point of doing the kind of job which is crying out to be done. We can no longer assume that what we are dealing with here is a series of individual differences. It is far more important at this point to be concerned with some of the broad, perhaps gross, ways in which some of our learners differ as groups because it is in the treatment of these gross differences, to begin with, that we will be able to approach an understanding of the uniquely individual differences that exist within these groups. I think that one reason why we have not come as far in the area of developing content, developing of approaches, developing methodology for working with depressed area children is because we have tried to say that they are really not different from all other children, that if we just attend to the individual differences of the children in our classes, we will have attended to the needs of these children too.

It was a philosopher rather than an educator who once said that the American educational system talks more about attending to individual differences and does less about them than any other system in the world. We now must look at group differences and see what they mean; not only lower class v. upper class, but differences in caste groups, differences in groups depending on how long they have lived in the urban areas with which we are dealing, etc.

I was very happy to hear openly stated the view that we are dealing with a population which isnot only different in the degree of problems which they demonstrate but which is different in the kind of problems demonstrated. To me the most meaningful fact here is that when the degree of differences is large enough then actually the quality becomes different. Dr. Gordon so wisely pointed out that we are dealing with different kinds of problems in these slum area schools than the ones we have dealt with in some of our middle class areas.

When you have a child in a suburban area who is having difficulties with learning, this child is a deviant from his group, this child is somehow transgressing against the expectations of his family, of his peers, of his neighborhood, and of the society to which he belongs. Therefore, we have devised techniques of guidance, of remediation, and counseling for children in these areas. Our attempt there, in a sense, is to bring them back into the fold so that even though we don't want to talk about "adjusting" children to a situation any more, and I am very happy that we have more or less thrown that word out of our vocabulary, we still want to help that child develop traits which will enable him to confront the world in which he is going to function, the world to which he already belongs. Now, what does all of this mean when you look at the child from the slum areas? The behaviors which he brings to school are, by and large, highly adapted to his family, to the community from which he comes, to the street in which he lives, to the gang with which plays. Then he comes into school and we now expect from him quite a different set of behaviors. Are we, in a sense, saying to the child that there are street manners and company manners. These are the ways in which we expect you to function in the school because these are the adaptive behaviors for your future life. On the other hand, you can go back into the home and to the family and there find that the kinds of behaviors that are appropriate in school are not the ones by which one can comfortably survive in one's environment. It seems to me that we cannot treat slum children as if they represent a large aggregate of individually disturbed people. We have to look at them as a social group which has an adaptive pattern of living. However, their pattern is not adaptive to the broader society into which we educators want to help these children move. If it is our task to provide for these children the maximum potential for free choice, the maximum ability to choose among many alternatives; then they have to learn the kinds of behaviors which our middle class society expects, whether they later decide to use them or not. However, in doing so we do set up conflicts in the child with respect to his relationship to his family, his relationship to his peers, his relationship to his teacher. I wonder if this is one area in which guidance can somehow help these children reconcile in their own minds the demands of these two cultures in which they live.

The last point which I will have time for has to do with what I think is the second aspect of facing reality. Education, I think, by virtue of its need to keep school must be oriented toward practical, immediate things to do.

It is silly to say to a teacher "there isn't anything I can tell you with respect to your work with these children today because we don't know enough to tell you what to do." The teachers still must work with his thirty or forty children even though the reality of the situation is that we know very little about this entire problem with which we are confronted. One of the great needs is that we sort out the things that are in our awareness, those things which we really know, for which there is sound hard-nosed evidence. For example, we do now begin to know something about this notion of cognitive deficit. We are beginning to know something about the remediation of certain kinds of deficits at early ages. But we really don't know for example, whether, if you don't compensate by at age two or age three can you still do so by age five or age six, or can you still do so at the junior high school level. We don't know, for example, to what extent the self image (which we believe is somehow involved in learning) can be reshaped by the school regardless of what goes on in the community. We know a good deal, for example, about the motoric style of lower class children. But we do not know whether teaching through a motor orientation will facilitate moving the youngster on to its conceptual level. We do not know how long it is appropriate to use motor involvement, and at what point it is no longer appropriate to do so. Certainly, motor behavior is not the end that we are seeking; conceptual behavior is.

We have a tendency, which you all know, to create nice, busy kinds of multiple-projects in which we pour into one area and at one group of children, a great many services, some well conceived, some ill conceived, but all kinds of new tricks, and then when we are through with this great expenditure of money and we have it no longer, we take a look at what has happened, and even assuming that we have decreased delinquency or raised income or raised the level of reading by 2 months and we ask "what caused it" -- we don't know. Research should have the highest priority today so that we can come to the teacher five years from now and say "here are some fairly well established facts."

My last word on reality: I was much enamoured of Dr. Gordon's statement, particularly of his concepts of shifting from the individual counseling interview to the recognition of group help. But the alternatives he proposes are still in the realm of wishful thinking because how realistic are they? how realistic is it for the one guidance counselor in an elementary school of twelve hundred or fourteen hundred children to make contact with the community, to become the social reformer, the leader of community enterprises, involved with the struggles of the people in the community? Do we, perhaps, need to rethink the importance of the conerns that Dr. Gordon mentioned? Perhaps we need other specialists to do this kind of school and community work. Somewhere in the back of my mind I fear that otherwise we may once again bring the school back into the morass of being all things to all people instead of seeing the function of the school clearly as the teaching institution which Dr. Tannenbaum indicated it must be. What are the teaching facilitating functions of the guidance counselor and what are those of other agencies? What other personnel need be involved? We must hammer away at this and demand money for work in this area in order to achieve these very desirable ends.

TO MEET THE NEEDS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

DR. GOLDIE RUTH KABACK, CHAIRMAN
THE CITY COLLEGE
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Welcome to the afternoon session on meeting the needs in secondary education for guidance of disadvantaged youngsters. I always feel that the chairman of a panel is a kind of academic Simon Legree who holds to the time alloted for each paper so that the audience may also have ample time to participate. Therefore, I have taken the prerogative of limiting each paper to about 25 minutes and then Dr. Gordon Klopf, our discussant, will summarize. There will then be ample time for questions from the floor. When you raise your questions will you please identify yourself and then indicate to whom your question is addressed.

Now, I have the privilege of introducing Mr. Richard Plaut, whom I have known over the years, and who is President of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

MR. RICHARD PLAUT

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE & FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

I have been asked to talk about talent searching and salvaging. Talent searching and salvaging are means of closing the educational gap and equalizing educational opportunities. These are probably the most important tasks facing American education today. These tasks must be attempted on two levels. The first level involves those who because of ability, motivation, and a little help at the right time, survive against the severe obstacles they face and manage to get to their senior year in high school prepared for college. This is the top 10%. The other 90% are those who fail somewhere along the educational line because they couldn't overcome the overwhelming odds. Many of them, too, are salvagable if they get the extra help they need early enough in their school lives. This topic of necessity involves some incidental discussion of an organization that is trying to do something on both levels in different ways.

The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students which here and after will be referred to as NSSFNS, was established in 1948 with the rather simple goal of increasing opportunities for Negroes for higher education in interracial colleges. It came into being to remedy a failure in the social structure. This particular failure, the founders felt, was that Negroes, who constitute 10% of our population, were less than 1% of our interracial college population. Before the establishment of NSSFNS a study showed that attitudes (at least in northern colleges) overwhelmingly favored more qualified Negro students. The study clearly showed that however great a factor bias might be in other educational or geographical areas, bias was not keeping Negroes out of northern colleges. In addition, the founders of NSSFNS had the notion that opportunity is only equal when it is offered to all persons without distinction at the same time, in the same place, and on the same terms. Opportunity offered in segregation, whether in the North or the South, is never equal opportunity. Quite aside from the moral inequity, segregation in education is always a failure. Schools and colleges held apart from the nation's cultural confluence fall inevitably into a downward spiral of educational regression. This was the rationale for the phrase "in interracial colleges" which completes the statement of the primary purpose of NSSFNS. The first treatment to remedy this social failure was simple, direct, and symptomatic. We established a college advisory service, to reach as many high school seniors as possible and to tell them individually about specific opportunities for admission and financial aid in colleges which met their qualifications, needs and aspirations. There is strong evidence of the partial success of this treatment in the 8500 students who in 14 years have been helped to enroll in some 350 fully accredited four-year interracial colleges with over $3,700,000 in scholarship awards. That this effort was also at least partially unsuccessful is also clear because places for five times as many might have been found had that number been qualified and available. Most of these students have been the beneficiaries of "reverse discrimination" by the colleges in which they enrolled. The reasons were, partly, because they were Negroes and, more importantly, because their less than competitive credentials were viewed by the colleges as due to cultural lacks and poor quality of preparation. It is important to demonstrate that this reverse bias has paid off in a startling way. The college work of these students has consistently exceeded the prognosis over a period of fifteen years. For example, a study of five classes which has been going on for over two years and is now nearing completion, will show that 91% of the respondents received their bachelor's degree, the 9% drop-out rate for such a culturally and economically disadvantaged group glistens against the background of a national drop-out rate of more than 40%. A more detailed examination of 4 other classes enrolled in college in 1961-62 shows the following characteristics of 504 respondents. Tabulations of the academic progress of these former NSSFNS counselees and scholarship holders show that 8% of them had a scholastic average of A or A-; 57% B+, B, or B-; 33% C+, C or C-; 2% D or below. About 1.2% of them withdrew from college for academic reasons; 2.3% for other reasons. Of these young people close to 73% received financial assistance ranging in value from $50 to $3200. 60% of them earned from $40 to $1400 a year. The annual cost to their college years ranged from $250 to $3300. Their families contributed from $0 to $2100. Almost 70% of these students are taking liberal arts courses. The balance are in pre-professional courses such as law, medicine, engineering, nursing, medical technology, physical and occupational therapy, architecture, business, education and dentistry. More than half of the 1962 graduates will enter graduate or professional schools. Many former counselees hold major or minor public offices. Some are members and occasionally officers of predominantly white fraternities or sororities. Outstanding achievements among these students include 3 Woodrow Wilson fellowship holders, 6 graduate assistantships, 1 Phi Beta Kappa, 1 straight A graduate (the first in the history of his college), 1 class salutatorian and student council president, 2 magna cum laude degrees, 4 cum laude degrees, 1 class marshall, 1 highest ranking senior and recipient of the American Chemical Society award, 1 German Government award for study at the University of Berlin, 8 Dean's list students, 10 major class or student body officers, 2 varsity captains, etc. On the other side of the ledger, it should be noted that the students entrance credentials included average scores of 467 verbal and 462 math for those who took the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying test. These scores are converted into the College Board scale as you can see. The average verbal and mathematical scores of those who took the preliminary scholastic aptitude test were 46 and 45 respectively. All of these average scores are well under the national average of college scholarship holders.

These students, however, are only the survivors, the top 10% of their age groups. What of the other 90% that fall, and are still falling along the way. Thus far, we have only concerned ourselves with the short term approach to increasing the quantity and quality of Negro enrollment in college. Not only is this a short term approach, but it is also a superficial one for we are reaching the student when he is already a college candidate in the 12th grade. A great deal has been learned during the course of the NSSFNS program. We have learned that the educational lag has no racial basis. It happened because of cultural and economic deprivation, operating equally among all ethnic and racial groups. Nevertheless, there is a considerable overlap between deprived groups and minority groups, especially Negroes. The trend toward two-class cities, the rich and the poor, with the middle-class moving to the suburbs, has brought about expanding slums with heavy concentrations of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities. The children of these residents of run down neighborhoods are largely attending schools in which too little is expected of them and achieved by them. Of equal if not greater importance, we have learned that attacking the problem at the 12th grade level only scratches the surface. It helps only the relatively few survivors, those with enough native ability and drive for education to overcome the effects of early deprivation. These two concepts seem relatively simple and even obvious now. If any one proclaimed them back in 1955 that proclamation eluded us. Yet they go to the very core of the problem and lead us to the long term approach in depth: much earlier identification and educational stimulation of able but deprived children.

The first opportunity to test these conclusions in New York City came in 1955 with the appointment of the Board of Education's Commission on Integration. This body was created to cope with de facto segregated schools and the inequality of educational opportunity offered in them. One of the Commission's recommendations proposed a demonstration guidance project, in a junior and senior high school, for the early identification and educational stimulation of students from deprived families. The measure of the success of this project was defined as the increase in college enrollment from project classes over pre-project classes from the same school. The first demonstration project, now renowned at least among educators, began in Manhattan's Junior High School 43 and in George Washington High School in the Fall of 1956, co-sponsored by the New York City Board of Education, the College Entrance Examination Board and NSSFNS. The project goals were: 1. to identify potentially able students early enough for them to realize their full educational potential;

2. to change their own as well as their parents' images of themselves as permanent strugglers for survival to one in which going to college was not only possible but likely; 3. to teach them sufficient competence in the basic academic skills so that they might ultimately qualify for college admission as well as for financial aid.

In evaluating the results of the project today it should be borne in mind that these goals were set for a school population approximately 45% Negro, 40% Puerto Rican, 15% "others" with a common denominator of extreme poverty. Of the last pre-project class of about 200 going on from Junior High School 43 to George Washington High School about 5 went on to higher education. The drop-out rate was high; there were serious disciplinary problems. These are a few highlights after the six years of the project: 1) The average project student reading was 1.4 years below grade level at the beginning of the project. In 2.6 project years his reading jumped from a level of 5.4 to 9.7. For the first time in the history of the school project students read well above grade level. 2) The first, second, and third project classes were graduated from high school June 1960, June 1961 and June 1962 respectively. From these three classes over 150 students were graduated. Today most of them are enrolled in some form of post-high school training. Many of them are in four-year colleges. Without the project it is a fair estimate that no more than thirty would have even finished high school. The drop-out rate has been halved and serious disciplinary problems have virtually disappeared.

How were these results brought about? First, by the expenditure of money. Substantial sums had been invested in the project divided between the two schools. With an earlier start in elementary school, with more schools involved and invaluable experience applied, the job can be done for much less -- but it will always cost money. Secondly, by people. The money is spent largely for more professionals of high quality. The principal and his guidance and teaching staff must be not only of outstanding professional competence but must also have a deep conviction, amounting to dedication, that their goals are obtainable. Thirdly, by identification. Here we started with a familiar dilemma. On the one hand, we must try to predict academic potential among culturally disadvantaged children with instruments loaded with the culture of which they have been deprived. Or on the other hand, we must try to use instruments devoid of that culture -- i.e., adopt an approach which is equally self-defeating. In the absence of a single magic instrument, a ten-factor profile was developed including verbal and non-verbal tests, classroom performance and teacher judgment. In a return full circle to the pre-testing era, teacher judgment proved to be the most useful tool. Fourth, by changing the self-image. Individual and group guidance are needed almost to the saturation point. This is proven by continuous discussion of higher level careers; cultural exposure in the form of trips to the theatre, the opera, concerts, museums, industrial plants, college campuses; giving status to outside reading; involving parents on these social economic levels to an almost unheard of degree. After a while, all these activities caused these children to think about colleges to the same extent as any group of middle class children. Fifth, by emphasizing academic skills. Remedial teachers, smaller classes, enriched programs and intensive guidance all contributed to the general rise in achievement and aspiration.

The key word to these five project aspects is totality, totality of attack. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Fragmentary attacks, any one or two aspects do no harm, but they don't do much good either. To use a physical analogy, the child just doesn't need his arm put in a sling. He needs total diagnosis and total therapy.

Before the half way mark was reached in the original six-year project, and within a few months after John Theobald became New York City's Superintendent of Schools, he launched and has since implemented plans to extend the project's P.S. 43 principle to 80 other New York schools. This program, called Higher Horizons, starts on the elementary school level and includes non-college bound children as well. The goal is to lift the achievement of all disadvantaged children. This year the program has gone into 15 additional high schools, thus reaching 80 schools in all. Meanwhile NSSFNS has undertaken the task of spreading the "P.S. 43 concept" to other communities through its subsidiary activity, Community Talent Search. Through arrangements for exchanges of visits, advice, stimulation and technical assistance, CTS has helped bring about similar projects in Washington, Philadelphia, Morristown (New Jersey), Hartford (Connecticut) and sixteen other cities in New York State. Several other states, cities, and towns have activities in the planning or preliminary stages; still others have been otherwise activated.

A very few years ago a cloud considerably smaller than a man's hand could have covered the area of awareness that there was an educational gap. By early 1963 the mushrooming of public interest, the growth in educational programs, and the increased attention in the press to the problem of educational lag has been evidenced by the following series of events: New York City's 80 school Higher Horizons program, New York State's 16 city Project Able, 4 States (California, Maine, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island) on the verge of State-wide action, projects in 15 to 20 other cities and the Ford Foundation's School Community Improvement Project in 8 or 10 other cities, The National Education Association's School Drop-out Project, the specially oriented teacher training programs such as Project Beacon here at the Graduate School of Education, Project Bridges at Queens College, NDEA Training Institutes at Teachers College, NYU, network TV coverage on NBC and network radio coverage on CBS, articles in magazines with circulation totalling over thirty-five million, and so forth.

Although we may well feel encouraged there are no grounds for complacency, the surface has only been gently tickled. Perhaps 250,000 culturally and economically disadvantaged elementary and secondary school children are presently benefiting from special services. The difference between this number and the 8 to 10 million disadvantaged children in our elementary and secondary schools is the measure how far we have yet to go. You may be interested in some of the problems inherent in launching such activities and in their cost. Over the years, we have learned that there are very few absolutes of universal application. There are these two, however. First we have learned that this particular cat can be skinned in a great many ways, at a wide range in cost. What is right for New York City is not necessarily best for California and New England. Projects should be custom tailored to fit the needs of individual communities after a careful study of those needs. Secondly, the attack should be total and not fragmentary. There must be some hedging about costs. Costs are largely determined by the starting phase. That is to say, the present class size, the present student counsellor ratio, the present incidence of auxiliary services. In most cases about $60 per year additional cost per pupil may be assumed an average starting phase.

I should now like to turn to the question of "how do we finish the job." The final obstacle blocking the most potentially able of these young people from going on from special projects to college is: lack of money. This is the justification for a Federal scholarship program as well as for state scholarship programs and privately sponsored programs supported by foundations, industry, fraternal and social organizations. The needs of the increasing number of able young people who already are knocking at the doors of the colleges just cannot be provided for from existing sources of financial aid. The ability to pay can no longer be a critical factor in determining who shall go to college. We have already reached the stage where it is no longer a critical factor for most candidates of superior developed ability. There is almost enough financial aid, in one form or another, for those of them who really need it and know where to look for it. There should be equal provision for the promising student whose achievement at grade 12 has been only average or a little better, provided that the deficiency is a result of cultural and economic handicaps. Furthermore, better communications must be developed to tell these students that financial aid is available and where to look for it. The almost nine thousand young people helped during the 14 years of NSSFNS activity to enroll in a four year accredited degree granting institution, constitute abundant evidence of how much can be accomplished for the little encouragement, enough information and some financial aid at the right time. There is now awareness of these needs in both educational and governmental circles. There has been a start toward the mobilization of public opinion. There are limited funds available from the federal government, largely NDEA, from some state governments, from foundations. The big break-through to the ultimate solution that appeared to be so close a year ago, however, fell flat with the death of the Administration school and college aid bills in the House of Representatives. These bills, as originally introduced, would have provided a Federal

Scholarship Program under the Aid to Higher Education Bill, as well as a ten percent earmarking of school aid funds for experimentation with the special educational problems of schools in run-down areas of large cities. Other similar bills seem equally unlikely to meet with more success in the present session of the Congress.

The most promising step towards the ultimate solution, however, still appears to be in the proposal for a National Talent Foundation established along the lines of the National Science Foundation. The task of a National Talent Foundation can be expressed in the following terms: 1. To increase opportunities for integrated higher education for students from all disadvantaged groups; 2. To award financial aid to promising students from deprived backgrounds who have been admitted by colleges but who cannot compete successfully in the normal national and college scholarship competitions; 3. To help communities and school systems understand the need for and to acquire the resources, techniques, attitudes and funds necessary to identify early, to stimulate, and to offer the extra services needed to equalize educational opportunity for all of their young people. All of these things have been done on a limited pilot basis. It has been demonstrated that they can be done, that doing them pays off to the individual and to the nation. It is now time that they were done on a grand scale, more suitable to the numbers of young people involved and their importance to themselves and to the nation.

DR. GOLDIE RUTH KABACK, CHAIRMAN

Our next speaker, Mr. James Moore, comes to us from the State Education Department. He will present additional material of value to counselors.

NEW PROGRAMS AND TRENDS IN GUIDANCE FOR SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

MR. JAMES MOORE
BUREAU OF GUIDANCE
NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

All of us who participate in conferences such as this listen with a certain amount of apprehension to what is presented by other participants to see if any substantial amount of our own prepared material has already been encovered. I think that you will note that some of the things I will say are reflections of remarks that were made this morning. Other points that I wish to make will be similar to those that Mr. Plaut has just pointed out. Actually, this similarity makes me feel good because I think all of us who work on different aspects of this problem are encouraged to find that others who we know to be leaders in the field have arrived at some of the same points of view or reached the same type of outlook.

The Bureau of Guidance, New York State Education Department, is charged with the responsibility for the improvement and expansion of guidance services in the schools of New York State. Perhaps the most common vehicle through which this objective is pursued is the program review in which Bureau supervisors make a thorough, on-the-site examination of local guidance programs and present recommendations for the attention of administrators and staff. However, from time to time, reacting to the recognition of similar and fundamental problems in many of the State's school districts, the Bureau has made special studies and established demonstration projects whose focus was more specifically upon counselee types than upon total programs.

A first concern, in accepting the invitation to speak to you today, was to determine if the clientele of our projects for the "culturally deprived" were in fact identical to those defined as "socially disadvantaged" in our host's PROJECT BEACON. Let me say at this point that although most of us can readily conjure a picture in the mind's eye of those we want to assist in these ventures, to reduce these images to a verbal description which can serve as the basis for a pratical selection standard is sometimes troublesome. We believe that PROJECT BEACON's definition of the socially disadvantaged closely approximates those developed in our projects and moreover, that is is a particularly succinct and accurate expression of the attributes of the pupils in whom we are interested. According to PROJECT BEACON, socially disadvantaged children are those "...who live in communities where:

- income level and status are low;
- general intellectual stimulation is inappropriate to a high level of academic achievement;
- and patterns of social organization, cultural characteristics and cultural values differ markedly from those which are dominant in our society."

The "society" which is referred to is that of our white, middle class.

I will outline our projects for you briefly and offer some generalizations based on our observations of their operation across the State.

Project ABLE

ABLE on the state level is a direct descendent of Higher Horizons in this city. It supports the development of programs for talented but deprived students. Presently it is established in 16 school districts, including three New York City high schools. The grade level and the educational specialties included vary from district to district. Only New York and Buffalo have programs at the senior high school level. The majority encompass the elementary grades and not all provide guidance service as such. For the past two years, $200,000 has been made available to the Department by the Legislature which has been distributed to the schools on a matching basis. An appropriation of the same amount has been made for 1963-64.

Talent Search

Talent Search is similar in intent to ABLE. However, because the funds used in Talent Search are diverted from the Title V-A NDEA allotment managed by the Bureau, certain legal limitations are imposed. Those most pertinent require that only additional guidance services for talented but deprived students may be supported and that only secondary students may be included. In 1961-62, the Bureau made $25,000 available to 18 school districts for Talent Search projects. In the current year, approximately $47,000 has been reserved for projects in 27 school systems. Roughly the same amount will be encumbered in 1963-64. Some of the districts match the federal funds but not all. Matching is not required.

STEP

STEP (School to Employment Program) is a work-study program for potential school dropouts presently established in 10 communities, most of them rather large. Fifteen high schools in New York City have STEP units. Its purpose is to reduce the numberof unemployed school dropouts by encouraging the development of those habits, attitudes and skills necessary to success in the world of work, and in school. Our goal will be achieved if substantial numbers of students return to the normal school program and graduate, and if those who do leave school are assisted to make good beginnings in the labor market. The basic program framework includes a daily class session devoted to orientation to the world of work plus supervised work experience, for three to four hours in the afternoon, both under the direction of the same teacher-coordinator. From the funds of local districts, stipends are paid to students employed in tax supported agencies. In private placements the employer pays the wage. The Legislature voted approximately $150,000 to underwrite the program this year. An equal sum has been appropriated for 1963-64. The Department supports local programs on a matching basis.

Obviously, a key person in STEP is the teacher-coordinator. In a number of cities, the coordinator is a trained counselor. In all cities, the coordinator's role is virtually indistinguishable from that of a counselor. Also, very close relations exist between the coordinators and the guidance staffs of STEP schools.

Holding Power Project

This project was actively pursued in 89 coöperating school districts between 1954 and 1960, the years in which the class of 1960, which formed the study population, traversed the six years of secondary education. Essentially, its aim was to discover techniques by which early school leaving might be reduced through a program of guidance services. Information was collected on all members of the class and forwarded to the Bureau, especially data on students who became dropouts. Bureau supervisors visited the districts twice each year to assist local personnel in the development of the project and to record promising practices. It should be noted that this large undertaking was accompliahed solely through the usual Bureau facilities. No additional funds were made available either to the Bureau or to the schools.

Our findings in HPP can be summarized as follows:

More students can be held in school if counselors and staff members -

1. Attack the problem together;
2. Earnestly work to obtain the support and understanding of the parents of the potential dropouts;
3. Identify potential dropouts and begin to work with them long before their decision to leave is made. Early identification is possible through use of the Bureau developed rating scale for early school leaving (HPP Form II, Pupil Holding Power Data).

Before proceeding I think that you should understand our administration of the on-going projects (ABLE, STEP, Talent Search), for it reflects a fundamental point of view concerning the education of the socially disadvantaged. Districts desiring to participate submit proposals outlining the attack that they will mount on the problem with our assistance. These documents are reviewed by a Department committee on which are represented supervisors of guidance, psychology, elementary and secondary education, child development and other educational specialties from the several Bureaus in the Department. Those which have the most merit are approved, often following some revisions in keeping with the committee's comments. When the projects become operative, they are periodically visited by Bureau of Guidance supervisors and by other Department specialists who estimate their success and offer suggestions for their improvement.

The above is related to make clear this fundamental assumption: There are a number of valid approaches to the education of the socially disadvantaged. Presumably, a local solution, with the advice of the Department, should have more promise than one dictated by the Department, which must be less aware, relatively, of local resources and contingencies. Also, it may be well to point out that of the more than 2,000,000 children in school in New York State, only some 8000 are included in our projects. Thus, these special efforts have pertinence largely for demonstration purposes.

We have spoken briefly of our programs. What trends in service for the socially disadvantaged can be drawn from them? Because a trend must be described in relation to some base line, we have chosen to contrast the efforts of counselors of the socially disadvantaged with those of counselors for "white, middle class" youngsters, recalling this phrase in PROJECT BEACON's definition. We will develop these trends in terms of dimensions of difference. The dimensions we will employ are those of client-counselor initiative, counseling readiness and counselor-staff relations.

1. Client-counselor initiative

Here we are speaking of that which brings the counselor and his client together. An illustration from the Holding Power Project will illustrate our meaning. Seniors from high and low holding power schools were asked to indicate whether they usually saw the counselor at their request or at his. Significantly more of the seniors in the high holding power schools came of their own volition. Significantly more of the low holding power seniors awaited the counselor's call. From the same source two other findings are relevant. Significantly more of the parents of seniors in high holding power schools had been in recent contact with the counselor than had parents of seniors in low holding power schools. Also when asked if the counseling service had been sufficient to their needs, low holding power seniors were more satisfied than high holding power seniors. In other words the demand for counseling time was less adequately met in the high holding power schools.

Precisely this same phenomena can be observed in all of the projects, at least in their early stages. The socially disadvantaged do not freely approach the counselor. The counselor rather takes the initiative in offering his assistance to parents and students.

The trend then is this: suburban counselors do not lack demands for their attention. Often, in fact, they must employ considerable skill to manage the assault of students and parents. Counselors of the socially disadvantaged have the opposite problem. They must reach out to students and parents and often make home visits and establish evening office hours to promote a demand for their service. In addition, most of the projects provide group meetings for parents and invite them to perform as chaperones on project trips. Parenthetically, you may be interested to learn that a recent Bureau survey revealed that more than a third of all New York State counselors now have scheduled evening office hours for at least a portion of the school year.

The importance of efforts with parents cannot be minimized. In the Holding Power Project, the reason most frequently advanced by counselors for the decision of students to leave school before graduation was the attitude of parents. From other Holding Power data we learned that only one-third of the parents of dropouts were known to actively desire their children to remain in school; another third were indifferent, and the final third were opposed to their continued attendance. Yet, it was found in this project that only 20% of the parents of droupouts were contacted by school personnel to offer their help in keeping the students in school.

I recall vividly the comments of the counselors in a Talent Search project after some experience in an evening guidance program for families of disadvantaged students. They felt that only through this activity had they ever had the opportunity to deal at length with the problems these families face. They were quite humble as they described their growing insight into the burden carried by these parents. Adult members of these families do not often appear in school during regular school hours. In the evening, aware of the fact that the counselors are there just to see them, and less self-conscious in the relatively emptied school, they have joined the counselors in what has become a learning experience for both.

Although it might be as appropriately left to the readiness dimension, this last point in the initiative dimension is offered. The counselor in many ways is a mediator between two cultures. The first purpose of his work must be to convince those whom he seeks to help, that the educational institution can indeed serve them, that it can make a difference for the better in their lives in rather specific terms. The disadvantaged are not naive. They know that for our familiar "white middle class", education does indeed represent a well traveled path to success. They may be aware of the opportunity denied even to some of the better educated who come from disadvantaged backgrounds. They must be convinced that the counselor is not merely offering another avenue to frustration. What can the counselor promise? Only that he and his colleagues believe that together, they and the family, can at least develop more alternatives than exist without the effort. The mention of alternatives leads us to our second dimension.

2. Counseling Readiness

All educators are familiar with the readiness concept. Briefly stated, attempts to develop a skill before the organism is prepared usually yield no significant gains in performance over those whose training is delayed until the appropriate level of maturation has occurred. Often in connection with reading readiness, we find schools providing a wide variety of experience for children before attempting to teach them to read to insure their familiarity with the objects and ideas that will be symbolized in their primers.

Counseling may be characterized as the creation of the climate for decision making. Counseling readiness then is that condition of readiness which recognizes alternative courses of action. Here we must admit that our orientation is a bit directive because what is meant is that the client appreciates as valid possibilities, alternatives that the counselor may see far more clearly at the beginning of the counseling process than he (the client) does. To return for a moment to our description of the counselor as a cultural mediator, in suggesting alternatives, the counselor is really pointing to possible ways through the barriers surrounding the disadvantaged. However, before a significant decision can be made, the client must see these avenues as clearly as the counselor. He must recognize them as a "through street", not as a "dead end."

Just as young readers, and especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds, must first become familiar with the concepts represented on the printed page, so too must disadvantaged students be sensitized to the opportunities which are open to their exploitation before they can decide, before they can be counseled, to pursue them.

Thus in the projects we find the counselors fulfilling an expanded role. To get their students ready to weigh the decisions their ability and our democracy evoke, disadvantaged students must be taken on "sight seeing tours" of the world in which we would interest them. Actually, trips and tours do seem to have the most profound impact of any project technique of a readiness nature. Here we are reminded of the Utica lad who, gazing across the countryside from an Adirondack height on a project trip said, "Now I know why people fight for this country." Also, the students in Buffalo who had never been across the Peace Bridge, and the Westchester boys who had never visited Manhattan. Perhaps these trips have almost their most important effect in convincing parents and students that, after all, the school does really feel that they are rather important. However, the trips are not without purpose and usually are to sites of cultural significance. Thrusts are made at the ghetto boundaries at the physical and the ideational levels.

The counselor also brings emissaries from the world outside to stimulate his students. Frequently these represent the same minority groups as the students and all, of course, are successful in their chosen fields. Students see and talk with individuals who have made the decisions we suggest and pursued them to fruition. What better evidence can there be of the possibilities that the counselor is outlining. Recently in Niagara Falls I shared with a project counselor his delight in the positive influences radiating from a career conference he had just concluded at which these occupational representatives appeared, among others: bank clerk, sales clerk, apprentice draftsman, medical intern, armed forces captain, elementary and secondary school teachers. All were Negroes. Two school administrators present - the event was held on a school holiday - promptly invited the entire roster of speakers to appear at their own schools. Also of note, employers permitted the speakers to attend without loss of pay.

Finally, counselors encourage their teaching colleagues to provide experiences of all types - musical, art and academic - to contribute to the raising of aspirations. A Bureau colleague told me of visiting a project class in which students were raptly following a teacher as she displayed a collection of prints she had brought from her home.

What is the trend in the counseling readiness dimension? Suburban counselors encounter no difficulty in assuming that a majority of their students are well aware of the opportunities that accrue to continued education. The counselor of the disadvantaged can make no such assumption. He does expend considerable time and energy in making such opportunities psyschologically and physically visible to those he serves.

3. Counselor-Staff Relations

In the Holding Power Project we attempted to isolate specific and discreet techniques that could be shown to have a significant effect upon the reduction of early school leaving. In this we were unsuccessful. However, we did establish that schools which improved their holding power the most, over the term of the project, combined the efforts of school staff members, including the counselor of course, significantly more often than was the case in schools which improved their retention rates the least. Our interpretation of this finding and others in the Holding Power Project concerning the role of the counselors included these points:

a. Certainly the counselor alone cannot be expected to be responsible for local reductions in early school leaving.

b. The problem of early school leaving is rooted in the attitudes of parents, students and staff toward the values of education. Therefore only when the staff members serving a particular potential dropout are united in their purpose of assisting the student, and others like him, are school efforts likely to be successful. Most educators, counselors perhaps more than others, have known the frustration of having their efforts to change the attitudes of a student unceremoniously emasculated by an unsympathetic colleague.

c. The proper role of the counselor then becomes that of a sensitizer-coordinator to his fellow staff members. He must first encourage them to accept their share of the responsibility for the general progress of each student. Next, because of his strategic position astride the communications network within the school which renders the pupil record information readily accessible to him, and which allows him relatively free contacts with parents, students, and staff members, he must discharge a liaison function vis-a-vis his colleagues.

The counselors in our current projects do tend to seek and achieve harmony of action with their fellow staff members.

What of the trend in this dimension? It would be less than accurate to suggest that the typical middle class counselor performs as a specialist isolated from his colleagues. Nevertheless, there is some evidence of a movement in this direction, as witness the college placement specialist in many suburban high schools. Such counselors perform more as expediters with clients highly motivated to seek further education. Their principal activity is the matching of pupil credentials and college requirements. Because the credentials are largely determined by the time students come to them, contacts with fellow staff members to improve student performance are less pertinent and less pursued.

Perhaps more serious is the growing tendency in certain quarters of the profession to describe the counselor's proper role as that of a sheltered counseling psychologist. According to one scheme advanced at the APGA Convention in Boston, guidance services would be provided by a court of specialists in group guidance, educational and occupational information, placement and the like, who would hover like worker bees around the innermost cell of the hive where the queen bee, the counseling psychologist, would alone confer with individual students.

As we have pondered such developments, this thought has occurred to us. It may be that the counselor can effectively specialize in some facet of guidance when there is good evidence that the values of education embraced by his school and by the members of the community served by the school are in close agreement. When community and school aims diverge, the counselor's work is perforce to reduce this divergence by encouraging changes in attitude on the part both of students and parents on the one hand, and staff members on the other to reduce what could be termed, the "valve gap."

The counselor of the disadvantaged, then, studiously avoids any specialization which threatens to diminish his communication with staff members.

There is also a fourth dimension which requires some discussion too. This fourth dimension is the "value gap" or "cultural lag" which distinguishes the value system of the school in which the counselor of the disadvantaged labors and the students and families with whom he works. The counselor initiates contacts with families and students, develops activities to ready counselees for decisions appropriate to their ability and the promise of our democratic society, and co-operates with colleagues - all to effect some congruence in the separated value systems. We hear much talk these days of dialogue between representatives of our major religious faiths. The counselor of the disadvantaged seeks to chair a dialogue between representatives of two cultures.

Before closing, I would like to comment briefly on three other aspects of counseling the disadvantaged as observed in our projects. Not infrequently, one reviews reports of instances in which counselors have discovered home situations so distressed that they have had to caution their colleagues against much progress with the children from such homes. Thus is epitomized a crucial dilemma. The school may adjust its program to compensate for individual differences of large magnitude, but in some instances it simply cannot alter extra-school circumstances which have the effect of negating much that it attempts for the disadvantaged. Earlier we spoke of the counselor as a cultural mediator. He also is a pioneer in that his work often brings him to the boundary between school and community responsibility - a line which he crosses at his peril. He can, however, awaken others to their proper duties which, if discharged, reduce the threat to the school program. To this end, several of our local projects have established lay advisory councils to acquaint the community-at-large with the need for the alleviation of problems which the school is powerless to attack.

It seems to be a part of educational folklore to identify new programs as fads. Educators are particularly delighted when they can point to a current venture attempted a generation ago and dropped. Unhappily, there may be some justification for their cynicism. Just now, projects for the socially disadvantaged are enjoying a great favor. I cannot believe that our work too will disappear in the predictable future from the educational scene, because there is too much evidence in our national life of a growing concern for those of our citizens who have shared less fully of our abundance. However, I am equally convinced that unique responsibilities for the education of the disadvantaged will ultimately persevere only because a large sector of the education profession accepts these new obligations. Until now, dedicated teachers and counselors have devised ingenious stratagems to assist the disadvantaged in largely indifferent communities. Our present advantages must be effectively consolidated with the gains they have made and fiercely guarded, lest we too become participants in a fad. It must be remembered that the disadvantaged can bring little pressure for added service. We must be their voices in a cause worthy of the loftiest of the aims of education.

A final point related to the above: We have had some worries concerning the fate of certain of the activities in our projects when state aid is withdrawn. Ostensibly, our programs allow districts to develop and evaluate procedures beyond their means otherwise, with the though that the best of these will be permanently installed when financial aid ceases. To repeat an earlier statement, the projects are solely for demonstration purposes. More than we like, districts have been slow to abandon unprofitable undertakings and to adopt promising practices in unaided schools in their local systems. Herein lies the danger that we may in fact be only on a band wagon. The communities that we serve cannot be expected, eventaully, to pay for expensive extensions of responsibility whose worth cannot be practically demonstrated. Counselors and educators must constantly appraise and adjust their efforts to achieve and to deserve community appreciation and support.

DR. GOLDIE RUTH KABACK, CHAIRMAN

Our final speaker is the eminent Associate Director of the National Urban League, Mr. Otis E. Finley, Jr.

COMMUNITY RESOURCES IN THE GUIDANCE OF SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

OTIS E. FINLEY, JR.
Associate Director
National Urban League

This title suggests two important considerations which should be included in the planning of educators as they seek to develop the experience of equality through education. The first consideration is that educators should be working cooperatively with constructive forces outside of the school as a supplement to the efforts within. The second consideration implies that a certain segment of our school population may require special help, even going beyond the accepted tools and techniques utilized by guidance counselors, if education adequate for the needs of these children is to be fostered.

It must be rather obvious to all of us that any school program today, if it is to be effective in holding more students and equipping them for the challenge of the times, must be a total program - a venture utilizing the experiences of both the school and the community. The isolation maintained in the past by schools on the grounds that "we do not want to invite outside meddling pressure groups, we have enough trouble as it is," has not been without some justification. There are presently, and probably will always be, many forces trying to get into the schools and to subvert them for a multitude of reasons. This is particularly evident in the current campaign to censor textbooks in many parts of the country. Our schools must be ever vigilant to these invasions from without. On the other hand, these schools must undergo a constant process of evaluation of the true purpose of education as it relates to the needs of the times. In so doing it can only come to the inescapable conclusion that many of the current problems associated with the education of certain groups of children, especially in our large urban areas, are problems which extend far beyond the walls of the classroom. And, if the counselor or the teacher is to be effective in the discharge of his or her responsibilities to these children, he will want to know of selected community resources with experiences which can buttress these efforts, and he will actively solicit their help and cooperation for the performance of his tasks.

Let us pause for a moment to see who these children are, and why they are now called the "socially disadvantaged" and why they need special help.

These children represent all or most races which make up our society. However, a growing and disproportionate percentage of these children happen to be Negro, as compared with their percentage in the total population. This significant fact has been reported in studies by Dr. James B. Conant, and by observations of school officials in city after city. Why do these children present problems deserving of the special attention of school guidance personnel?

A brief review of the social and economic characteristics of Negro family life in America will provide us with some clues to our question:

> Negroes earn less than whites. The median annual income for the Negro family today is only $3,233, as compared with $5,835 for whites - a gap of 45 per cent. This gap has increased since 1952 when it was only 43 per cent.
>
> More than 75 per cent of all Negro workers are still in the lowest occupational categories - service workers, semi-skilled and unskilled laborers and farm workers are in these categories. And these are the very categories now drastically

> affected by automation and technological change.
>
> In 1962, only 8 per cent of non-white males, as compared to more than 27 per cent of white males, were employed in professional and managerial occupations outside of agriculture. Only 9 per cent of non-white males could be classified as skilled craftsmen or foremen, as compared to 20 per cent of white males.
>
> The lower earning power of Negro men and the more frequent breakup of Negro families under both social and economic stress make it necessary for more Negro than white women to enter the job market. One in every four Negro women with pre-school children is at work, not at home. And yet we wonder about some of the causes of school dropouts and its natural consequence, juvenile delinquency.

As a result, more Negro youth drop out of high school than white youth, and fewer Negro high school graduates enter college. During one of the most recent school years, Negroes who constitute something less than 11 per cent of the total population supplied 21 per cent of the school dropouts, but only 7 per cent of the high school graduates.

Nationwide, Negro young people constitute about 15 per cent of the total youth population between the ages of 16 and 21, and yet are 50 per cent of the youth population in this age bracket who are both out of school and unemployed.

One of every six Negro dwelling units in the nation is dilapidated, obsolete or otherwise substandard as compared to one in 32 white dwellings.

This despicable condition is hardly conducive to good study habits.

Even the most cursory reflection on the great social and economic gap between two groups of Americans with otherwise equal potential reveals the crippling effect of prejudice and discrimination.

In a real sense, Negro children have been spawned in a cesspool of national indifference to their hopes and aspirations. The social order has established a caste system forged along racial lines and one which has established a value system for these children which determines their "place." This definition of "place" unfortunately has been passed along by many parents, not as a satisfying goal of personal attainment but as a prime requirement for mere survival in a hostile environment. Thus, even in a changing social order the plight of Negro children is far graver than that of white children in the schools.

The rapidly changing social order since World War II has now thrust upon the shoulders of the schools the colossal task of picking up the pieces resulting from a systematic destruction of human life, and now molding these children into the efficient mechanism which is their God-given birthright. The challenge is one for education as well as for the community, and unless help is immediately forthcoming, a larger proportion of these school children will join the ranks of those suffering from dependency and frustration, and they in turn will raise their offspring in their own stunted image.

According to Dr. Dennis Trueblood, the role of the counselor in the guidance of Negro students must be affected by his special knowledge of the needs of Negroes. This knowledge can be gained only by studying the psychological and sociological background of the Negro. With such knowledge and the knowledge about experiences of community agencies and other educators in the guidance of the Negro student, the counselor, in terms of both process and content, will better be able to function successfully with the Negro student.

In this connection, the Urban League for more than 52 years has certainly been in the forefront among private organizations desperately striving to lift the sights of our nation's youth. It is uniquely equipped through program emphases in education and youth incentives, job development and employment, housing and health and welfare services, to help guidance personnel understand and cope with their problems.

In cooperation with schools, colleges, and community groups, the Urban League has pioneered many community demonstration projects aimed at pointing up the "how" of adequately reaching Negro youth. Its vocational guidance program for Negro students in Miami, Florida, in the Forties was the first for any children in Dade County, Negro or white, and paved the way for such programs for all within the entire County. The Urban League Vocational Opportunity Campaigns at the community level go back to 1930, and the pace-setting Back-to-School Campaigns were the forerunner of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's current Stay-in-School Campaign. Consultations with school administrators, in-service institutes on minority youth guidance, parent clinics, career conferences at both the secondary and college levels, the production of audio-visual aids for youth and their parents, have all been part of this effort. The Talent Bank Youth Incentive Program is the Urban League's nationally projected equivalent to New York City's Higher Horizons, with the important ingredient of wide community involvement. The Urban League motion picture "A Morning For Jimmy" has been viewed by a television audience of more than 8 million persons in two years and has become a permanent addition to the film collections of many schools and public libraries.

In January of this year representatives of the National Urban League met in historic conference with Francis Keppel, Commissioner, U.S. Office of Education, to express concern over the educational problems of youth in our urban areas; and to submit recommendations calling for the strengthening of our local institutions.

Only two weeks ago in Boston, the director of guidance for the Milwaukee public schools reported to the APGA Convention on an exciting program for disadvantaged youth being conducted in that city. The program was developed by the Urban League and is being implemented through a $50,000 grant from business and industry.

There are other valuable resources which can be utilized by schools in the guidance of socially disadvantaged youth. To name a few, the National Committee on Children and Youth offers consultation on problems of youth employment. Various state commissions against discrimination, or commissions on human rights, are excellent sources for interpretation of employment conditions and opportunities for minority youth. Recently the Ohio Civil Rights Commission and the Ohio State Board of Education rendered a significant national service when it published "Counseling Minority Youth," a guide for developing the experience of equality through education. Although the publication was designed for the specific needs of school counselors in Ohio, most of the information is applicable throughout the country. It is available at cost from Ohio Scholarship Tests, 751 Northwest Boulevard, Columbus, Ohio.

The United States Department of Labor and the many state divisions of Employment Security are more than eager to provide specific factual information related to the problems and needs of these children. To this list of government agencies must be added the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and this author predicts that the Office of Education will step up its services to local institutions on specific problems of minority youth guidance.

Counselors should not overlook the support of many social, civic and fraternal organizations of Negro leadership whose efforts have already made the tasks faced by some schools a lot easier. These organizations include the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, composed of Negro college women who supported the recent efforts in Oregon which led to the Nancy Weimmer Award given by NVGA for outstanding contributions to vocational guidance in 1962.

In this all too brief paper an attempt has been made to present a broad dimension to what is admittedly a national problem as a perspective in justification for the use of community resources in the guidance of socially disadvantaged youth.

No attempt has been made to exhaust all the constructive resources which are currently available to school personnel in guidance if these personnel will but reach out into the community for help.

One of the biggest handicaps limiting this "reaching out process" has been a fear reaction on the part of some school personnel which has conditioned them to stay behind closed doors. This reaction has resulted either in a breakdown of, or in a failure to develop effective communication with helpful interests in the community. This is especially true when this communication must cut across racial lines.

The United States has become the first nation in history with the resources sufficient to eliminate poverty from its shores. There is no longer any real excuse for human blight, and we must avoid the error of human blunder. It should, therefore, be an acceptable challenge to school guidance personnel to avail themselves of every resource in the community necessary for the performance of their tasks, for the solution to this problem must involve all institutions within our society.

The future output of today's youth in contribution to the millrace of tomorrow's adult responsibilities and national progress will be only in direct proportion to the degree of motivational input, or lack of it, provided by their total community environment. As educators and as community leaders, we cannot fail in this responsibility.

CHAIRMAN:

Our discussant is Dr. Gordon Klopf, Associate Professor of Education, Department of Guidance and Student Personnel Administration at Teachers College, Columbia University. In the field of endeavor relative to desegregation, Dr. Klopf is presently serving as chairman of the Committee on Integration in the New York City Public Schools. He is also chairman of the National YMCA Program Board Committee on Counseling. I am pleased to present to you Dr. Gordon Klopf.

RESUME OF DR. GORDON KLOPF'S COMMENTS

Among the major factors in the development of a sound program of guidance counseling for the socially disadvantaged are the interests, abilities, compassion, and values of the individual staff person working in difficult urban school settings.

It is essential to expand the roles of key personnel, such as the counselor, in these schools in order to avoid a static approach. In this connection, the development of new skills on the part of personnel is needed as well. In addition, avenues for closer communication between the staff, community groups, families, and the children themselves must be studied.

There is a growing need for more operational and action research in the areas of curriculum, instruction, and guidance. Staff members can take the initiative by formulating and carrying out intensive studies in their own schools. Where experimental pilot projects are feasible, and stand a good chance of success, they must become part of regular practice.

Schools with students from varied cultural backgrounds present special problems. Here it may be necessary for guidance staffs to work even more extensively with community agencies than they do at the present.

Teachers, counselors, and administrators - particularly in socially disadvantaged areas - must assume greater leadership, responsibility and conviction if growth and change are to take place.

The breathtaking changes in the field of civil rights place increasing responsibility and obligation in the hands of educators, administrators, and guidance counselors. James Baldwin, in his book "The Fire Next Time," sums up the crucially important role that we must play - as well as the image we must project - in order to help achieve the goals of the highest possible standards in democratic education: "Everything now, we must assume, is in our hands; we have no right to assume otherwise. If we -- and now I mean the relatively conscious whites and the relatively conscious blacks, who must, like lovers, insist on, or create the consciousness of the other -- do not falter in our duty now, we may be able, handful that we are, to end the racial nightmare, and achieve our country, and change the history of the world. If we do not now dare everything, the fulfillment of that prophecy, recreated from the Bible in song by a slave, is upon us: 'God gave Noah the rainbow sign, No more water, the fire next time!'."

(Quoted by permission of Dial Press, New York)

PROJECT BEACON
(A Summary)

Project Beacon is an effort to introduce within the public school system of the United States a permanent corps of psycho-educational specialists who have been rigorously trained to meet the educational needs of socially disadvantaged children and their parents.

Project Beacon recognizes that present efforts to meet the challenge of high school dropouts and juvenile delinquency are by their nature primarily palliative measures which can only briefly ameliorate the conditions with which they seek to cope.

The need in education is to build a structure which can support and contain the kind of cultural and technological training of youth that will prevent the recurrence of delinquency and school dropouts.

Project Beacon is, therefore, a long-range program that attacks these problems through: (a) behavioral science research into the relationship between learning and social disadvantage; (b) graduate level training of psycho-educational personnel (school psychologists, educational psychologists, guidance specialists, administrators and supervisors, teachers of regular classes, and teachers of special classes) for work with socially disadvantaged children and their parents. The Project represents the collective efforts of three departments at the Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University.

The children that Project Beacon seeks to help are found largely in depressed urban areas but also have their counterparts in our growing northern suburbs, and in the rural south, southwest and midwest. They are largely members of Negro, Puerto Rican, Indian and Mexican-American minority groups.

The disadvantages usually encountered in these children consist of improper learning habits and obscured vocational and personal goals which handicap them in their efforts to master traditional academic tasks; inadequate preparation and motivation for the mastery of those competencies basic to future success in an advanced technological society; and conditions of life which operate to discourage or preclude the practices and values which have become traditional prerequisites to adjustment and achievement in our society.

Although Project Beacon takes into account the necessary social modifications which will be required for a maximal attack upon the problems posed by socially disadvantaged status, the Project itself is based upon the assumption that much can be done in the present context through the appropriate efforts of properly trained public school personnel. Through Project Beacon we seek to:

1. Improve the educational achievement levels of children handicapped by social disadvantage; and

2. Enhance preparation and add new dimensions to career opportunities for personnel who accept the challenge of working with disadvantaged children and their parents through the public schools.

These goals are pursued through the development of competence and skill in four basic areas by Project Beacon teacher-students:

1. Psycho-educational appraisal: through which the existing intellectual abilities and weaknesses of the children are identified along with those patterns of adaptation which foster academic learning and personal adjustment;

2. Psycho-educational management: through which the results of the appraisal are used to design and introduce individual and group learning experiences appropriate for the modification or circumvention of learning disabilities and for the utilization of existing learning abilities;

3. Psycho-Social intervention: to nurture and direct interests and motivation, to provide guidance and support, to reward and reinforce, and to create the climate and conditions appropriate to maximal growth;

4. Behavioral Science Research: to pose questions, collect data and interpret results in a continuous process of verification of each aspect of the program.

Within the framework of these four emphases, a number of graduate training programs have been developed in the departments of Curriculum and Instruction, Special Education, and Educational Psychology and Guidance at the Graduate School of Education. (See flow-chart, attached.) In addition to the training aspects of Project Beacon, several demonstration, curriculum development, and research programs are under way or anticipated.

Detailed statements on all Project Beacon training programs and research and demonstration studies can be obtained from Project Beacon, Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

FLOW CHART for PROJECT BEACON

Graduate School of Education - Yeshiva University

PARTICIPATING DEPARTMENTS		GRADUATE PROGRAMS for		DEGREES & CERTIFICATES OFFERED		RELATED RESEARCH & DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS
1. Curriculum and Instruction	→	a) Teachers of Regular Elementary and Junior High School Classes (pre-service) b) Elementary and Secondary Administration and Supervision	→	a) New York State Certification and Master of Science in Education b) Certification, M.S. and Doctor of Education	←	a) Internship program in Lower East Side schools and social agencies (with N.Y.C. Board of Education and Mobilization for Youth) b) "Academic Breakthrough" Research on science instruction as motivational approach for children severely retarded in reading
2. Educational Psychology and Guidance	→	a) School Psychologists b) Guidance Counsellors c) Educational Psychologists d) Therapeutic Educators	→	a) M.S., Certification, Specialist's Certificate and Ed. D. b) M.S., Certification, Specialist's Certificate and Ed. D. c) M.S. and Doctor of Philosophy d) M.S. and Specialist's Certificate	←	Inventory, description and evaluation of remedial and compensatory school and college programs for socially and culturally disadvantaged children and youth (with NSSFNS) Youth workers' training program (with New York State Youth Board)
3. Special Education	→	a) Teachers of Special Elementary Classes for the Mentally Retarded (in-service)	→	a) M.S. and Specialist's Certificate	←	a) Comparative study of special teaching methods for mentally retarded children from middle class and non-middle class background (with U.S. Office of Education)

SOME SAMPLE RESPONSES TO JANUARY 1963 REPORT ON PROJECT BEACON OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

Hon. Francis Keppel, U. S. Commissioner of Education

> "My colleagues who have read Project Beacon commend you and your staff...(on) this very important project... Finding ways of teaching these pupils effectively is one of today's major educational problems."

U. S. Senator Thomas J. Dodd

> "I feel that you are making an excellent contribution to the field of education. Your program certainly represents the domestic peace corps at its best and it should receive public support."

Ewald B. Nyquist, Deputy Commissioner of Education,
The University of the State of New York

> "...excellent...very exciting...very important"

Philip Des Marais, Deputy Assistant Secretary
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

> "Yeshiva University's present effort, Project Beacon, to train educational personnel for work with children and parents in socially disadvantaged urban areas, is certainly a worthy endeavor. The material on Project Beacon is being made available for use of the staff who are working on the report for the President (of the U. S.)"

Harry N. Rivlin, Dean of Teacher Education,
The City University of New York

> "It is tremendously reassuring to see how much thought and effort you are putting into the solution of one of our most serious problems."

Helen L. Witmer, Director, Division of Research,
U. S. Children's Bureau

> "...The present plight of many of the children who live in slum areas, and their dismal occupational outlook for the future are among the major problems facing our country today."

APPENDIX 2

OTHER GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION REPORTS *

1. NORTHERN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION; PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS.

   Proceedings of the first annual Invitational Conference on Urban Education, April, 1962.

2. THE SOCIAL SCIENCE CURRICULUM AND TEACHER RECRUITMENT IN JUNIOR AND COMMUNITY COLLEGES.

   Proceedings of a conference supported by the Ferdinand W. Breth Foundation, May, 1962.

3. TRAINING PROGRAMS IN PROJECT BEACON, for the preparation of pre-service and in-service personnel to work in socially disadvantaged community schools as teachers of regular and special classes, administrators and supervisors, guidance specialists, therapeutic educators, school psychologists and educational psychologists, January, 1963.

4. TEACHER TRAINING AND RESEARCH NEEDS IN SPECIAL EDUCATION.

   Proceedings of a conference welcoming Dr.Herbert Goldstein to the Graduate School of Education, January, 1963.

* Single copies available without charge; additional copies available for $1.00 each from

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